National Library of Canada
Canadian Theses Division
Ottawa, Canada
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale du Canada
Division des thèses canadiennes

0-315-01122-X

48980

PERMISSION TO MICROFILM — AUTORISATION DE MICROFILMER

- Please print or type — Écrire en lettres moulées ou dactylographier

Full Name of Author — Nom complet de l'auteur
JOHN JAMES JAGODZINSKI

Date of Birth — Date de naissance
SEPT 4 / 1948

Country of Birth — Lieu de naissance
ENGLAND

Permanent Address — Résidence fixe
10508 - 74 st
EDMONTON, ALBERTA
T6A 2Y5

Title of Thesis — Titre de la thèse
AESTHETIC CONSCIOUSNESS AND HISTORICAL CRITICISM

University — Université
University of Alberta

Degree for which thesis was presented — Grade pour lequel cette thèse fut présentée
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Year this degree conferred — Année d'obtention de ce grade
1980

Name of Supervisor — Nom du directeur de thèse
DR. R.N. MacGregor

Permission is hereby granted to the NATIONAL LIBRARY OF CANADA to microfilm this thesis and to lend or sell copies of the film.

The author reserves other publication rights, and neither the thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's written permission.

L'autorisation est, par la présente, accordée à la BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DU CANADA de microfilmer cette thèse et de prêter ou de vendre des exemplaires du film.

L'auteur se réserve les autres droits de publication; ni la thèse ni de longs extraits de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans l'autorisation écrite de l'auteur.

Date
July 7/ 1980

Signature
J Jagodzinski

NL-91 (4/77)

National Library of Canada
Collections Development Branch

Canadian Theses on
Microfiche Service

Bibliothèque nationale du Canada
Direction du développement des collections

Service des thèses canadiennes
sur microfiche

NOTICE

The quality of this microfiche is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us a poor photocopy.

Previously copyrighted materials (journal articles, published tests, etc.) are not filmed.

Reproduction in full or in part of this film is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30. Please read the authorization forms which accompany this thesis.

THIS DISSERTATION
HAS BEEN MICROFILMED
EXACTLY AS RECEIVED

AVIS

La qualité de cette microfiche dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de mauvaise qualité.

Les documents qui font déjà l'objet d'un droit d'auteur (articles de revue, examens publiés, etc.) ne sont pas microfilmés.

La reproduction, même partielle, de ce microfilm est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30. Veuillez prendre connaissance des formules d'autorisation qui accompagnent cette thèse.

LA THÈSE A ÉTÉ
MICROFILMÉE TELLE QUE
NOUS L'AVONS REÇUE

Ottawa, Canada
K1A 0N4

NL-339 (Rev. 8/80)

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

AESTHETIC CONSCIOUSNESS AND HISTORICAL CRITICISM

by

© JOHN J. JAGODZINSKI

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF SECONDARY EDUCATION

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

FALL, 1980

Checked

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

RELEASE FORM

NAME OF AUTHOR .... JOHN JAGODZINSKI ....

TITLE OF THESIS .... AESTHETIC CONSCIOUSNESS AND HISTORICAL CRITICISM ....

DEGREE FOR WHICH THESIS WAS PRESENTED .... Ph. D. ....

YEAR THIS DEGREE GRANTED .... 1980 ....

Permission is hereby granted to THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA LIBRARY to reproduce single copies of this thesis and to lend or sell such copies for private, scholarly or scientific research purposes only.

The author reserves other publication rights, and neither the thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's written persmission.

(Signed) .... J. Jagodzinski ....

PERMANENT ADDRESS:

13315 - 82 Street
Edmonton, Alberta
Canada

Dated: June 10, 1980

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled AESTHETIC CONSCIOUSNESS AND HISTORICAL CRITICISM submitted by John Jagodzinski in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Supervisor

Harry Garfinkle

Vincent Lanier
External Examiner

Date: June 10, 1980

This thesis is dedicated to my parents Anna and Michael Jagodzinski and to my, as yet, unborn child. I hope one day that (s)he will entertain the implications of this thesis.

ABSTRACT

The nature of aesthetic consciousness continues to be a perplexing and elusive, if not esoteric phenomenon. Positivists have argued that aesthetic experience is evoked by objective aesthetic qualities which reside in the aesthetic object, therefore reasoned and logical arguments can be given for the basis of aesthetic judgments and objective and measurable standards may be defined.

In contrast, phenomenologists have attempted to provide an idealist account of "pure" aesthetic experience. Building upon the Kantian tradition, they posit aesthetic consciousness as a pure, unmediated and timeless, ahistorical and "disinterested" experience. They claim that it is possible to judge aesthetic quality without being able to interpret the historical content or context of an artwork; nonhistorical aspects constitute the "aesthetic." Some works are able to transcend the contingency of history and provide "truth experiences" which are fundamental insights into the human condition. Truth and beauty lie in form while aesthetic experience is defined as a specific kind of feeling, attitude or posture. Against this transcendent idealism, Marxists of all persuasions have objected. They claim aesthetic consciousness is socio-historically situated and a changing phenomenon.

The paradox created by positing aesthetic consciousness as a historical category or treating it as timelsss pure experience, led to the formulation of the exploratory question: can these two antino-

mic positions be transcended? It was disclosed that the solution to this paradox had resulted in the division of Marxist aesthetic philosophy into two diametrically opposed factions; structuralists and humanists.

Marxist structuralists have continued to maintain an orthodox historical materialism whereby ideology is a reflection of class domination. Aesthetic consciousness is treated as a manifestation of a system of autonomous structures, pervaded by a lawful organization independent of the elements that compose it. Art becomes an autonomous entity subordinate to the laws which define the system.

Against this "scientific" Marxism, Marxist humanists have maintained that the Marx of the 1844 Manuscripts had introduced a more active existential view of ideology, presenting an emancipatory view of consciousness mediated by communicative practice and reflection. Aesthetic consciousness, seen in this light, became a dynamic, projective social force which sensitized and revealed the state of the human condition.

Marxist humanists have attempted to wed this existential, as opposed to transcendental, phenomenology to a Marxism characterized by class struggle. They attend to the phenomena of consciousness and recognize the origin of all such phenomena in everyday life. Aesthetic experience is treated as a "province of meaning." Whereas phenomenology has emphasized a unity of the individual's inner world of experience, the existential emphasis suggests that an individual could live in two, or more, sometimes conflicting worlds. Furthermore, phenomenology has only taken into account the immediate subjective worlds of experience, whereas existential phenomenologists strive to reconstruct the developmental and transformative conflicting worlds, thus concerning themselves with ethical considerations. Marxist humanists couple this concern with a political dimension, introducing the notion of modification (aufgehoben) as opposed to mediation (aufhebung). Axiology and phronesis (practical wisdom) are inseparable.

The "project" of the thesis then changed. It became an attempt to incorporate the insights achieved by Marxist humanists, notably Karl Kosík, towards the development of a critical existential art programme which would provide a rationale for an emancipatory aesthetic consciousness. An ontogenesis of aesthetic sensibility was undertaken on the premiss that the class struggle had widened the human horizon and that the emancipatory achievements of each progressive class could be recovered and incorporated in an art programme. Consequently, the "commotion" of aesthetic sensbilities developed during a socio-historical survey were gleaned for their positive results.

The programme created consisted of three modes of world deemed as phases; each was propaedeutic to the one before it. Phase I (Invocation) was characterized by immediacy and by the dialectics of Being. It tried to recover positivistic sensibilities achieved by the bourgeoisie in their ascendence to power. Body, Imagination and Affect formed the three moments of Phase I. Phase II (Re-vocation) was characterized by mediation and the dialectics of Becoming. It attempted to recover the phenomenological achievements of the petite

bourgeoisie. Phase II was pervaded by paradox and ethics. Solution, Re-solution and Dis-solution formed its three moments. Lastly, Phase III (Poesis) was characterized by modification and the dialectics of Creation. It tried to recover proletarian aesthetic sensibilities and build upon the evolutionary developments of the post-war period. A political dimension supplemented the ethical concerns outlined for Phase II. Interpretation, Re-interpretation, and Performance were its three moments.

The intent of the overall programme was to broaden children's aesthetic horizons from biographical deliberations to global considerations through the technique of juxtaposing past, present and future examples and possibilities, in an attempt to make conscious what had been otherwise unconscious. The thesis concluded with a speculative attempt at comprehending historical cultural change.

PREFACE

The petrified conditions must be forced to dance by singing to them their own melody; cheat the world of its hollow triumphs and disclose its pain.

"Someone who does not care about real change betrays art and change. But he who gives up art as something supposedly bourgeois falls into a bad state of affairs, that is: he is reactionary in the real sense of the word."

Marcuse

"Everything I do is probably doomed to failure, but I do it anyway because it has to be done."

Sartre

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The value and depth of any thesis is largely dependent upon the strengths and interests of its committee members. In this regard, I have indeed been fortunate to have been supported by some of the best teachers at this university. Through the past six years as a graduate student, I have continually been surprised at the depth and breadth of knowledge that my supervisor, Professor R. N. MacGregor has displayed. It appeared as though each year I was continually reacquainting myself with a personality who was forever expanding his horizons of interest. His meticulous eye for detail, concern for quality, and consistent and continual support, both as a friend and advisor, shall always be remembered.

Equally, I wish to thank Professor H, Garfinkle whose wisdom and warmth I greatly admire. He is one of those rare individuals who is able to guide, yet not preach. Without his synthesis of knowledge this thesis would have been impossible.

Special thanks to Professor Max van Manen, who has been invaluable for his continual reflective questioning. He has inparted in me a desire to keep all avenues of inquiry open. Also my gratitude to Professor T. Aoki, who has always encouraged me to explore new regions of knowledge and to take risks in my own work.

My deep gratitude to Professor V. Lanier in his support for my project. A finer, more perceptive external examiner is not likely to be found. I feel the interest in aesthetics he had engendered in me six years ago, has finally reached some semblance of foundational status. His participation in this thesis was particularly rewarding for me.

Last, but not least, I wish to thank my wife Carolyne, who despite eight months into her pregnancy, was able to type its contents. Without her help this thesis would have never seen its completion.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER PAGE

I INTRODUCTION AND STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM................ 1

Introduction... 1

The Phenomenological and Marxist Stances................ 2

Articulation of the Problem............................ 12

Statement of the Problem............................... 15

Footnotes.. 18

II BETWEEN ORTHODOXY AND FREEDOM: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS....... 22

Marxist Structuralism.................................. 22

Marxist Humanism....................................... 29

Husserl's Theory of Consciousness...................... 35

Phenomenological Marxism............................... 39

Critical Existentialism................................ 42

Further Clarification of Terms......................... 50

Historism and Historicism.......................... 50

Aesthetics and Art................................. 51

A Critical Existential Examination of Art, Aesthetics and Art Education................... 53

Hermeneutics: The Interpretation of Mediations..... 55

Footnotes.. 57

III THE GROWTH OF AESTHETIC CONSCIOUSNESS.................. 64

Summary.. 88

Footnotes.. 91

CHAPTER PAGE

IV THE AESTHETICS OF CAPITALISM.............................. 101
The Rise of the Bourgeoisie.............................. 104
Fiscalism and the Acceptance of the Artist.............. 106
Quattrocento Art and Bourgeois Aesthetic Values.......... 109
Art of the Cinquecento and the Influence of Bourgeois Values: The High Renaissance.................. 112
Towards a Mercantilist Economic Policy: Mannerism and the Patronage of the Courts (1520-1620)................................ 113
Holland and Flanders................................ 118
Baroque: The Aesthetic Consciousness of Abolutism........ 121
Developments in France............................ 122
Developments in Spain............................. 133
Developments in England........................... 135
The Bio-Mechanical Metaphor: Pre-Romanticism and the Picturesque Style................................ 138
Aesthetic Consciousness of the Industrial Revolution Based on Steam: The Romantic Rebellion (1780-1830)................................ 142
England.. 145
France... 149
Revolution of 1830 and 1848: The Second Republic......... 154
Realism... 160
German Romanticism and Critical Theory.................. 163
Aesthetic Consciousness During the Transition to Capitalism Based on Coal and Oil..................... 173
Aesthetic Consciousness During Industrialization Based on Coal, Oil and Gas (1830-1880).................. 178

CHAPTER PAGE

The Evolutionary Metaphor.............................. 180

The French Connection............................. 184

Germany... 186

Art Education in the Industrial Period................. 189

France: L'art pour L'art............................... 191

Summary.. 194

Footnotes.. 197

V AESTHETICS IN MONOPOLY CAPITALISM....................... 211

Fin de Siècle: Aesthetic Consciousness During Industrialization Based on Electricity.................. 211

The Changing World-View: The Electric Metaphor........... 213

The Emergence of Modern Art and Modern Consciousness..... 216

Aesthetic Theory of the Impressionists.................. 218

Aesthetics of the Neo-Impressionists.................... 220

Aesthetic Theory of the Post-Impressionists............. 222

Diversification... 226

Symbolist Aesthetics.................................... 228

The Making of the Avant- Garde.......................... 230

Expressionistic Aesthetic Consciousness................. 232

Aesthetic Consciousness Between the Wars (1917-1933): The Transition to Monopoly Capitalism.................. 235

Aesthetic Values of the Futurists....................... 236

The Weimar Republic and the Aesthetic Theories of the Left.................................. 237

Aesthetic Theories of the Right: Retreat to Functionalism... 244

CHAPTER PAGE

Formalism: The Apologist Aesthetic........................ 249

Russia... 249

Germany and the Bauhaus................................ 256

Holland.. 261

France: Cubism, Purism, Orphism........................ 262

The Critical Thread: The Aesthetic Theories of Dada, Surrealism and Scuola Metafisica.................. 265

Aesthetic Consciousness During Industrialization Based on Electricity................................ 267

The Loss of the Artisan Aesthetic.................. 267

Art and the New Deal.................................... 272

Dominant Aesthetic Ideology: Open System Structuralism.. 277

Aesthetic Consciousness in Post-Industrial Society Based on Atomic Energy........................ 282

The Making of the Modern Arts Museum.................... 284

From Mass Art to Pop Art: Counterrevolutionism........... 286

Anti-Art and Systems Aesthetic.......................... 287

The Aestheics of the New Left in Post-Industrial Society.. 288

Summary.. 292

Footnotes.. 297

VI HISTORICAL RECOVERY OF AESTHETIC SENSIBILITY............. 316

Form One: The Naive or Common Sense Aesthetic Consciousness................................ 317

Form Two: Rationalist and Empiricist (Classicist) Aesthetic Sensibility.................................. 319

Form Three: Phenomenalist Aesthetic Sensibility.......... 321

CHAPTER PAGE

Form Four: Existential-Phenomenological Aesthetic Sensibility: Modernism and Abstraction.................. 323

Normative Phenomenological Sensibility............. 323

Epicurean-Formalist-Phenomenological Consciousness: Violent Praxis...................... 326

Stoic Ontotheological Phenomenologists............. 328

Skeptical-Phenomenological Aesthetic Sensibility.... 329

Structural-Functional Aesthetic Sensibility: Vitalism.. 330

Form Five: General Systems Aesthetic Sensibility: Post-Modern Society................................ 332

Form Six: Existential-Praxiological Aesthetic Sensibility.................................... 333

Provoked Life.................................. 334

Invoked Life................................... 335

Revoked Life................................... 336

Footnotes.. 337

VII A PROPOSED CRITICAL EXISTENTIAL ART PROGRAMME........... 340

Phase I: Lived Time................................ 342

Rationale...................................... 342

Naive Perception of the Pseudo-Concrete: Body Presence (Ego or Leib) and Monologue...... 344

Penetrating the Pseudo-Concrete: Re-presence or Mind (Emotion) Dialogue.................... 346

Articulation of Feeling: Interpretation Multi-Logue................................. 347

Phase II: Re-Lived Time............................ 350

Rationale...................................... 350

Solution: Real-Time........................... 353

CHAPTER PAGE

Re-Solution: Analytical Projects............... 355

Dis-Solution................................... 356

Phase III: Poesis.............................. 357

Rationale...................................... 357

Documentation and Investigation................ 359

Interpretation................................. 360

Re-Interpretation.............................. 360

Performance.................................... 361

Footnotes...................................... 363

VIII SPECULATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS................. 365

Dialectics of Concrete Reality................. 365

Dialectics of Non-Being and Being (Metaphysics to Ontology) Nothingness to "Is"........................ 366

Dialectics of Being and Non-Being: The Master-Slave Dialectic (Form is Content)........................ 368

Dialectics of Becoming: The Struggle of Wills........... 373

Footnotes...................................... 377

BIBLIOGRAPHY................................... 385

APPENDIX: The Growth of Aesthetic Consciousness................ 413

LIST OF FIGURES

TABLE PAGE

1 MASTER/SLAVE RELATIONSHIPS.............................. 378

2 EGOTISTIC OBJECTIFICATIONS.............................. 379

3 DIALECTICS OF NOT-BEING AND BEING....................... 380

4 DIALECTICS OF BEING..................................... 380

5 COMMOTION 1... 381

6 THE STRUGGLE OF WILLS................................... 382

7 RECOVERY OF GREEK AESTHETIC POSITIONS................... 383

8 SUMMARY OF SPECULATIONS OF RELATIONS BETWEEN COUNTER AND DOMINANT CONSCIOUSNESS....................... 384

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction and Statement of the Problem

Introduction

Broadly speaking, this thesis attempts to come to terms with current theory and practice in art education, which has been dominated by positivism and has of late begun to re-orientate itself to a phenomenological perspective. Positivism has been repudiated by a number of educators[1] because it assumed that existence is unproblematic, stressing a scientific" method and statistical measurement which separates "facts" from "values" and knowledge from interest. In short, this view[2] presupposes a passive view of man and as its connection with behaviorism implies, it is deterministic. Such a naturalistic approach had become the dominant paradigm[3] in art educational research. A hierarchy was executed between those who possess "artistic" knowledge, the expert critics and professional "artists," and those who lack it. This differentiation has manifested itself through the antinomies of high and low brow art; between those who are "cultured" and those who are less cultured or non-cultured;[4] between those who are labelled[5] as artistically talented and those who are seen as average in ability. Professionalization in the arts becomes tantamount to specialization wherein scarcity and the fragmentation of labor stratify people into hierarchical segments of society.

The presuppositions of positivism are antagonistic to mankind's[6] creative activities, which continually produce negentropic solutions[7] to new situations. Art education, by accepting a positivistic perception, had defined art, at best, as a "technical problem solving activity" and at worst, an ornamentalism characterized by a "fun" and "anything goes" attitude.[8] Efland's[9] analysis of school art has shown that the activities function as "time off for good behavior," while Eisner[10] has provided the critique of the technical approach to art education. Both extremes are far removed from any political and moral dimensions because their adoption carries with it an assumption that the activity of art is somehow immune to wider social questions. It is a self-contained discipline following its own laws of change, impervious to outside influences. In design schools there is a strong belief that all design problems - be they industrial, civic, architectural - may be solved given enough technology and time. In a technological society, man has little understanding of how gadgets function, yet he places complete faith in their functionalism. Yet as Victor Papanek intimates,[11] Gropius' slogan of "form follows function" and his aesthetics of sachlichkeit, a term which signifies a mixture of utility, sobriety, practicality and objectivity, is long over-due for re-evaluation.

The Phenomenological and Marxist Stances

One of the most trenchant critiques of positivism has come from the interpretive social sciences. This phenomenological-hermeneutic tradition, with its emphasis on intentionality, and the actor's experience of the world, recognizes that the child is a creative, artistic actor who constructs his own life-world of meaning, one which is significantly different from that of the adult.

What constitutes this phenomenological paradigm is, however, problematic. Phenomenological sociology and ethnomethodolgy have used Husserlian concepts like intention, reduction and phenomenon metaphorically, away from their original intent.[12] There is wide agreement, however, that a description of the everyday life-world is of fundamental importance if its meaning is to be grasped. Through a description of human experiences, consciousness can be revealed.

Continental phenomenology has concerned itself with the human condition. Phenomenologists have tried to generalize from the particular event, to gain insights or "truths" about human existence. Consciousness viewed as a practical activity has thus been given a dialectical treatment. Consciousness-of means that there is no consciousness without a meaningful world.

The phenomenological perspective has taken as its primary assumption that all knowledge is socially constructed. Educationally, knowledge is transmitted in "sets of meanings,"[13] which do not "emerge" but are collectively given. Thus, many taken-for-granted assumptions exist in art education and are presented as unproblematic. By treating what it means to be educated artistically as unproblematic, the basic presuppositions of art education may be utilized for the purposes of legitimizing the existing artistic and cultural hierarchy. Art curricula often come to be defined in terms of the dominant group's ideas of what it means to be "cultured."

If all artistic knowledge is socially constructed then the art educator must continually question his model of the student cum artist-connoisseur which is embedded in his views of a liberal art education. What is regarded as "logical" or "rational" and hence, a "valid" art curriculum is based on various standardized models of what an art education should be. All such models are necessary sets of shared meanings which come to be taken-for-granted. Failure to comply with these taken-for-granted "rules" and conventions is viewed as a form of deviance and because "deviance" since Romanticism has become a criterion for artistic achievement, questions need to be raised concerning the difference between novelty and originality, and other manifestations of deviant "artistic" behavior.[14]

Phenomenology, however, does not concern itself with issues such as ideology and false consciousness. Marxists claim that this is its fundamental weakness. Although it stresses that people act in terms of their interpretations of, and intentions towards their external conditions, it does not analyze the particular mechanisms by which a particular social structure constrains its members. It is not able to explain how or why certain repressive features in society exist or who become the artistic leaders in a classroom or why they do; or why a particular aesthetic dominates an art class or artistic community, or who defines what is and what is not "art." Phenomenology stresses mental reification, which is of prime importance, but at the expense of the material conditions of existence which, though socially produced, have become reified and cannot be merely thought away. This phenomenological persepctive, although a necessary component for visual and artistic change, is further limited because it encourages people to seek change through the way they think, instead of providing them with means by which they can change what they or others are doing. Theoretical reification, the achievement of a phenomenological perspective, must be coupled with a practical demystification, an actual change of artistic practice and social praxis.

A Marxist critique of phenomenology suggests that social reality as practice is more than mere social consciousness. "Practice does not exhaust social reality, which also includes the objective relations amongst agents, their consciousness of reality and their own activity, and the complex structure which exists among these relations themselves."[15] The consequences for art education, in adopting this critique are apparent in Sharp and Green's analysis of a child-centered approach to education.[16] Many of their interpretations of the structural constraints concerning "progressive" education can be equally applied to current theory and practice in art education.

The ideal of individual instruction and with it the explicit belief that each child is being treated equally, democratically and is developing at his own rate, does not as Sharp and Green have argued, translate into practice. Although the accounts given by the teachers and principal of one school[17] indicated that the objectives of progressive education were being achieved, Sharp and Green argued that despite the apparent harmony of theory and practice which the teachers said existed, their accounts contained many contradictions. Conflicting expectations and ambivalences manifested themselves in the staff being unable to articulate notions such as "free day," "integrated curriculum," "readiness." These concepts became organizational precepts whereby children satisfied the conditions of the approach by appearing to be "busy." The vocabulary of "needs," "interests," and "readiness" had no operational indicators and hence, teachers were unclear as to their precise role in intervention and interacting with pupils. Despite the real desire by the teacher to treat each child equally and as a separate personality, a class hierarchy formed.

This paradox arose due to constraints beyond the teachers' control. To maintain order, children who looked "busy," whether they were actually accomplishing something or not, were regarded as intelligent, bright and *normal*; others who did nothing were considered abnormal. Very little interaction took place between the teachers and this latter group. Family background was usually given as the cause for the abnormality. Hence, a stratification of identities occurred ranging from total alienation for those children who were ignorant of a problem-solving technique to the opposite extreme of "bright," self-directed, unalienated students who had high pupil-teacher intersubjectivity. Between these points on a continuum were constructed the various identities and positions of normal students. "These constituted a 'bedrock of busyness' crucial in structuring the teacher's ability to sustain the classroom as a manageable entity."[18]

Besides this process of social stratification, occurring at the micro-level of analysis, Sharp and Green argued that material factors in the macro-level also play a role in determining teacher practice. The phenomenon of control, power and the social construction of the opportunity for some social actors to be more autonomous than others, resulted as the unintended consequences of cooperative activity which masked a hierarchical structure of differential power and control. Some teachers, because their ideology was closer to that of the principal, were given more freedom in their classroom activities. Similarly, in terms of relationships among the teachers themselves and between teachers and their clients, the parents, good relationships depended upon a refusal to call into question established power positions and their legitimacy. Apparent recognition of the underlying structure and acceptance of power and control which did not prejudice the positions of each party to the interaction led to greater opportunity for flexibility and maneuverability within certain limits. The good parent, for example, was defined by the teacher as one who accepted teachers' advice and did not coach or interfere with the child's school work at home; yet it was discovered that parents who did not contradict teacher advice during parent-teacher meetings, but deliberately did so at home by tutoring their children, were parents of children who were considered bright and high achievers.

Finally, to combat anomie, the hidden curriculum of the classroom suggested that certain pupils were being denied "their reality." The self-directed approach was in sum, a mere illusion. Ultimately, what the child did and when he progressed on to the next level was entirely teacher orientated and teacher directed. This hidden manipulation and integration of subjects occurred differently with each teacher depending on how he/she had interpreted and adapted to the school ethos as presented by the principal.

Sharp and Green's study, which claims a Marxist grounding, is in itself problematic. They entertain questions which a phenomenological paradigm would exclude, and their findings are presented in a positivist frame. A deterministic view of consciousness is implied, therefore, a phenomenological perspective cannot be entirely dismissed. As a philosophical tradition, it puts our taken-for-granted notions into suspension - it "puts into brackets" the natural attitude we have towards art. This phenomenological "reduction" or epoché has been "likened to successive peelings off of layers of thought, previously taken-for-granted in order to see what is left, what is presented, or constructed as essential thought."[19] Phenomenology thus makes problematic such notions as artistic truth, child art and good art. Sociological methods like ethnomethodology and ethnography have become increasingly important for art education. By looking at other cultures and then our own, we can discover certain aspects of our own culture which have always been regarded as "natural" but which now become anthropologically strange. An anthropological examination of our taken-for-granted suppositions regarding the economics of art shows that there are alternative conceptions of ordering the world and the possibility of more equitable solutions to artistic problems.

Artistic knowledge, like social reality, is constructed. It is not the ontic status of art objects which constitutes reality, but the meanings of our experiences which we give them. These meanings are qualified by our own axiological position. Hence, if artistic knowledge is socially constructed there is no inherent and intrinsic meaning within art objects: there are no "facts," obvious for all to see. Even so-called "facts" require interpretation. Therefore, the epistemological presuppositions of the phenomenological paradigm become fundamental for art teachers in understanding their students and their art products as well as the concepts they have unquestioningly accepted as paramount to the artistic discipline.

Unfortunately, matters are not so simple. Within the interpretative tradition, there are many different theorists: Heidegger, Schutz, Husserl, Berger and Luckmann, Mead, Merleau-Ponty, Sartre. Not only are there many interpretations of each writer, but most have gone through different phases within their work. Phenomenology is such a broad term that major differences are disguised.

Within this interpretative paradigm, however, a valuable distinction has been made between a phenomenological approach which is apolitical and one which is radically political.[20] This division, termed analytic and possibilitarian by Geoff Witty, argues that Heidegger, Blum and McHugh are very critical of all forms of positivism, rejecting the Popperian version of science. Ethnomethodologists such as Cicourel and Garfinkel, however, are analytics because they "do not seek, in exposing the constitutive features of lived reality, to actually challenge the mundane experience of that everyday world.[21] As Witty phrases it,

> The overemphasis on the notion that reality is socially constructed seems to have led to a neglect of the consideration of how and why reality comes to be constructed in particular ways and how and why particular constructions of reality seem to have the power to resist subversion. Further, the problem of how to transcend a particular perception of the world remains even when the constitutive features of the way of seeing in which it is grounded have been unravelled.[22]

Marxist theorists argue that the social world is structured not merely by language and meaning, but also by the modes and forces of material production and a system of domination which is relatd in some way to material reality and its control. This becomes their basic tenet for advocating a critical stance towards lived reality. They argue that the intellectual construction of social reality and the structuring of language and meaning is affected by the relations of domination and subordination in society.[23] The differential location, and hence, differential interests of groups within the social structure result in conflict and contradiction. The conscious active interpretations and definitions of social actors take place within a context of givens - psychological, social and material. Ideas and the substratum of reality become the real problematic. This theoretical stance is best realized within Marxist social theory, which goes beyond the reductionism of both phenomenology and positivism. As Sharp and Green put it;

> Both fail [phenomenology and positivism] to take account of the problem of emergence, that societies reveal structures and processes which are not reducible to the simple sum of the actions of individuals and that the [art educator as] social scientist has to begin to develop a perspective which enables him to develop the connection between macro sociological and historical processes on the one hand and individual biographics on the other. It is necessary to situate the individual

> in a social context, to be able to say something about that context in terms of its internal structure and dynamics; the opportunities it makes available and the constraints it imposes and at the same time to grasp that essential individuality and uniqueness of man that evades any total categorization.[24]

Ideally then, an approach is needed which combines holism and individualism, free will and determinism, causal analysis and understanding, subjectivity and objectivity. The phenomenologist, although he stresses the social nature of mind, has not developed an appropriate perspective within which he could investigate the relationships between man's social being and mind. Mind is always treated as an independent variable, but there is a wide range of problems which might necessitate treating the mind as a dependent variable.[25] To be able to ask whether certain kinds of structural arrangements are conducive to the development of certain kinds of consciousness, whether the world view or systems of meaning of the acting subjects are limited and shaped by the structural arrangements, requires another approach. Marxism has traditionally attempted to come to grips with the idealistic shortcomings of phenomenology; but it too has undergone historical change. There are many variations of Marxism, from an extreme deterministic tendency to a humanistic view. The study by Sharp and Green, for example, relied on a structuralist foundation. Such theorists as Sartre, Merleau-Ponty, Piccone and Paci have attempted to transcend the limitations of both the phenomenological and Marxist perspectives.

Articulation of the Problem

The transformation of these concerns into the field of aesthetics manifests itself in a three way clash between a Marxist sociology of art, which claims that art is a social product, constructed by an artist and audience whose aesthetic attitude is historically determined; a phenomenology of "pure" appreciation, "pure" spontaneity of creativity and inspiration - presuppositions which a phenomenologist would adhere to; and a positivist position, claiming absolute standards of judgment and transhistorical appreciation of works of art.

The nature of aesthetic consciousness becomes problematic because it raises notions of determinism and human freedom. Either aesthetic conciousness is socially and historically situated or it exists as a pure, uneducated, timeless, ahistorical and disinterested experience. On reflection, both positions seem viable. One can enjoy looking at a painting and admire its form, color and design without necessarily knowing the work's historical context; yet few would deny that having extra information might enhance the magnitude of the experience. Aesthetic education has built its premises on both these arguments. A formalist approach suggests that Kant's premise was correct; aesthetic judgment is a pure faculty of the mind, unaffected by social or cultural factors. Marx, himself admits to this dilemma in the Grundrisse.

> But the difficulty lies not in understanding that the Greek arts and epic are bound up with certain forms of social development. The difficulty is that they still afford us artistic pleasure and that in a certain respect they count as a norm and as an unattainable model.[26]

A contradictory argument is presented by Hans-Georg Gadamer[27] whose particular *Verstehen* approach (hermeneutic understanding) argues that the observer's own history as art spectator-cum-critic cannot be eliminated from the act of perception. Historical understanding becomes a mediation between the past and present; hence, a relativistic theory of knowledge emerges - knowledge of the past changing with every contemporary present. The hermeneutic circle becomes a dialogue between the artwork and perceiver; each interpretation modifies previous perceptions as a new horizon (*Vörverstandnis*) is reached. "In the appreciation of art, then, the central point is its *historical* nature, the hermeneutic mediation of, on the one hand, the work of art and its *Dasein* (a being-in-the-world) and, on the other hand, the viewer/reader/audience and his/her/their *Dasein*."[28]

Gadamer's argument is further buttressed by the following points:[29]

1. Many new art forms, especially from other cultures, need to be *learnt* to be appreciated
2. Concepts of beauty, taste and fashion change historically
3. Naturalistic art, as much as any other art relies on a code which needs to be learnt (Gombrich)
4. Artists work in a tradition and are usually familiar with the history of styles and with contemporary techniques, as are most critics
5. The artist is dependent on the state of technology for the creation of his work
6. The artist is usually trained in a specific art institution which preserves tradition
7. The artist is a social being who derives his meaning from his current social-existential position as an actor

8. If the work is to communicate to an audience, this presupposes that there are common, social meanings and relations which can be enhanced aesthetically

9. Relations of communication are mediated by museums, gallery owners and managers, critics and reviewers, publishers, etc. They define what people should like since they decide which are and which are not acceptable works.

Schutz[30] has claimed that the phenomena of consciousness originate in the interactions, socializations, enculturations, familiarizations, habituations, linguistic learnings of the "common stock of knowledge" and transactions of existence. Meanings, as "multiple realities" or individual existence co-exist and are synthetic (cohere) with the total life-world (Lebenswelt). The aesthetic category is but one of these realities - or meaning systems. It is intimately related to other realities and primarily to the paramount reality of the natural attitude of everyday life.

The relativism of a sociological perspective does not mean nihilism. One must always choose. If one believed that different accounts were equally valid, then there would be no basis for choice. Choice would be made without reason, randomly. This becomes absurd. Relativism becomes nihilism. Psychologically, it might seem possible; however, sociologically this does not happen.

Can we have the best of both worlds? Do aesthetic categories evolve as historically modified forms of consciousness? If we claim that aesthetic consciousness changes historically, then that may predicate a relationship between social stratification of artistic knowledge and perception. The form of the constructs (categories) used in deriving criteria for what constitutes "good" art are derived by the class whose interests necessitated that particular consciousness. The influence of the traditions of a centralized elite which has close links with those holding economic and political power has an immense bearing on the practice of art, art education and choice of aesthetic preferences. A Marxist analysis would make visible the relations between the power structure and art curricula and who has access to artistic knowledge and how certain forms of it came to be legitimated as superior to other forms.

Statement of the Problem

The previous sections have all too briefly dealt with the inadequacy of Marxist and phenomenological paradigms. What is required, therefore, is a theory and practice of art education which transcends what is now available in either one, exclusive of the other. It is the intention of this thesis to attempt to provide the outlines of such a theory, as it relates specifically to the theory and practice of art education. Such a theory must necessarily show the alienating and non-alienating elements of each of the above paradigms; furthermore, it must delineate the status of artistic "knowledge" and artistic consciousness (as a mode of being).

Attempts at such a synthesis directed specifically towards "aesthetics" lie scattered throughout the writings of the Frankfurt School (Benjamin, Bloch, Marcuse, Adorno, Lowenthal), Italian Marxists (Gramsci, Paci, Rossi-Landi, Della Volpe), French Marxists (Sartre, Merleau-Ponty, Barthes), British Marxists (Williams, Swingewood, Eagleton), and other members of the New Left (i.e., Vazquez, Goldmann, Hadjinicolaou, Hall, Macherey). Each faction has treated this problem differently. Structuralism, semiotics, Lacanian psychology represent some of the current solutions. Broadly speaking, the thrust has been to bring to light the sharp differences which exist between a deterministic Marxism (as practiced in Russia, which accepts socialist realism as its party aesthetic) and a Post-Marxism as a critique of everyday life; a Marxism which tries to restore human subjectivity to its theory and practice.[31] Not all of the above mentioned factions accept this humanism. Structuralism for example, attempts to make Marxism scientific, while members of the Frankfurt School have dismissed (or rather, integrated inadequately) phenomenology;[32] nevertheless, the examination of their attempts at a Post-Marxist aesthetic should form an important section of this thesis, in order to incorporate their non-alienating elements.

To come to terms with the problem is eventually to provide a discourse which argues that art education should adopt the "critical" dimension of Marxism and the notion of the Lebenswelt as developed by phenomenologists. At this moment it is necessary not to define what this "praxiological" programme would be like but to begin to explore, throughout this thesis, its eventual constitution. In doing so, our hope is to display the necessary rationale.[33] Furthermore, if this thesis is to be a dialectical discourse, we must leave the problem stated in its present form with the conscious awareness that "the meaning of truth must itself move in a dialectic which continually runs the risk of losing it, and which would not be possible if it were definitely lost."[34]

The following chapter deals with a more detailed consideration of each of the two main positions outlined above: Marxist theory, particularly the differences between humanist Marxism and structuralist Marxism; and phenomenological praxis. Then an attempt will be made to show how prevailing modes of consciousness have given a particular character or ethos to certain periods in human history. Finally, the implications for art education of implementing the major philoshophical positions identified in the historical survey will be discussed and a paradigm programme, taking this information into account, will be outlined.

Footnotes - Chapter One

[1] Paul Pohland, "Research: Participant Observation," Studies in Art Education 13(3) (Spring 1972):4-15, argues for an ethnomethodological approach to art education and Vincent Lanier, "The Five Faces of Art Education," Studies in Art Education 18(3), 1977, pp. 7-21, characterizes "the mechanics" as those who worship "scientific" methodology and advocates that the shift should be made towards a more humanistic-aesthetic education.

[2] For a critique of the Humean position, see R. Harré and P. F. Secord, The Explanation of Social Behavior (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1972), especially Chapter 2 which examines the passive psychology advocated by British empiricism.

[3] Notion of a paradigm as first developed by T. Kuhn, The Structure of Scientific Revolutions (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1962).

[4] The notion of non-cultured was raised by Vincent Lanier, "Art and the Disadvantaged," Art Education 23(9) (December 1970):7-12, and also by P. Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed (New York: The Seabury Press, 1970).

[5] I am thinking of the "labeling theory" as developed by Edwin M. Lemert, Social Pathology (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1951) and D. Matza, Delinquency and Drift (New York: Wiley Pub., 1964). Six stages of interaction are identified: 1) Initial act - Student is able to technically paint a picture well; 2) Perception of act as deviant by those in authority - Art instructor recognizes a creative act; 3) Stigmatization - The student is seen as exceptional or gifted; 4) Advancement of stigmatization - The student is encouraged to produce in his "style" that which is deviant; 5) Self-respect - The artist seeks out a community of artists or a sub-culture; and finally, 6) He accepts himself as an artist extraordinaire. See also, Carol Warren and John Johnson, "A Critique of Labeling Theory from the Phenomenological Perspective," in Theoretical Perspectives on Deviance, ed. Robert Scott and Jack D. Douglas (New York: Basic Books, 1972).

[6] In order to satisfy the conflict between methodology and non-chauvinistic language, the term "man" is used to refer to historical men and women. In contexts where the reference extends to universal generic-man, the term "mankind" or "the human species" is used.

[7] See Jerzy Huber, "Creativity: A Definition Based on the Concept of Negentropy," Dialectics and Humanism 5(2), 1978, pp. 77-90.

[8] I would like to qualify what is meant by "technical problem-solving activity," by contrasting it to what Paulo Freire calls "problematizing." In the former approach, an expert takes a distant view of reality (abstracting it) and analyzes it into component parts and devises some means for resolving the difficulties in the most efficient way. He then dictates a strategy or policy. In contrast, in the latter view, the attempt is made to associate an entire populace to the task of codifying their total reality into symbols which can generate critical consciousness and empower them to alter their relations with nature and the social forces. See, Paulo Freire, Education: The Practice of Freedom (London: Writers and Readers Publishing Cooperative, 1974), "Introduction."

[9] See for instance, A. Efland, "The School Art Style: A Functional Analysis," Studies in Art Education 17(2), 1976, pp. 37-44.

[10] See, E. Eisner, "Do Behavioral Objectives and Accountability Have a Place?" Art Education 26(5), 1973, pp. 21-28.

[11] Victor Papanek, Design for the Real World (New York: Pantheon, 1971).

[12] See, James L. Heap and Phillip A. Roth, "On Phenomenological Sociology, American Sociological Review, 38 (June 1973):354-367; and Z. Bauman, "On The Philosophical Status of Ethnomethodology," The Sociological Review, New Series, (February 1973):5-23.

[13] Michael F. D. Young, Knowledge and Control (London: Collier-MacMillan Publishers, 1975), pg. 5.

[14] On this problematic see, S. Morawski, Inquiries into the into the Fundamentals of Aesthetics (Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1974), pp. 138-145.

[15] Richard Lichtman, "Social Reality and Consciousness," in Radical Sociology, ed. J. D. Colfax and J. L. Roach (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1971), pg. 152.

[16] R. Sharp and A. Green, Education and Social Control (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975).

[17] Ibid., Chapter 4.

[18] Ibid., pp. 216ff.

[19] Madan Sarup, Marxism and Education (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1978), pp. 35ff.

[20] Geoff Whitty, "Sociology and the Problem of Radical Educational Change," in Sociology and the Problem of Radical Educational Change, ed. Michael Flude and Joan Ahier (London: Croom Helm, 1974).

[21] Ibid., pg. 115.

[22] Ibid., pg. 115.

[23] H. P. Dreitzel, Patterns of Communicative Behavior," Recent Sociology, No. 2, Collier-MacMillan, 1970, pg. xvi.

[24] Ibid., pg. 25.

[25] Ernest Gellner, "Concepts and Society," in Rationality: Key Concepts in the Social Sciences, ed. Bryan R. Wilson (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1970), pp. 18-49.

[26] K. Marx, Grundrisse (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books Ltd., 1973), pg. 111.

[27] Hans-Georg Gadamer, Truth and Method (London: Sheen and Ward Ltd., 1975).

[28] Janet Wolff, "The Sociology of Art Versus Aesthetics," Occasional Paper No. 1 (The University of Leeds, 1975), pg. 3.

[29] Ibid., pg. 3.

[30] A Schutz, "On Multiple Realities," Collected Papers, Vol. 1, (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1967).

[31] For a quick review see, Karl E. Klare, "The Critique of Everyday Life, Marxism and the New Left," Berkeley Journal of Sociology Vol. XVI, 1971-1972, pp. 15-45.

[32] Paul Piconne, "From Tragedy to Farce: The Return of Critical Theory," New German Critique 7 (Winter 1976):102. Piccone writes, "only in 1936 did Husserl publish part of his work on The Crisis of European Sciences (whose full text appeared only in 1954 because of the Nazis' doubts about the purity of the author's blood) after the Frankfurt School had already relegated Husserl to the secondary position of a precursor of Heidegger. A short review of this published

section by Marcuse in 1936 fails to catch the originality of Husserl's later work, and although thirty years later the evaluation improves considerably, the generally negative appraisal remains. As Adorno put it, phenomenology as a 'first philosophy' comes at the time of the last philosophy, thus providing another anachronistic form of positivism."

[33] See, Michael F. D. Young, "Taking Sides Against the Probable," in Rationality, Education and the Social Organization of Knowledge: Papers for a Reflexive Sociology of Education, ed. Chris Jenks (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1977), pp. 86-93.

[34] Enzo Paci, The Function of the Sciences and the Meaning of Man (Evanston: Northwestern Pub. co., 1972), pg. 331.

CHAPTER TWO

Between Orthodoxy and Freedom: A Critical Analysis

Broadly speaking, Marxist aesthetics today are divided into two opposite and opposed orientations: "structuralism" and "humanism." The rift is characterized by one group viewing praxis as "scientific," wherein the stress is placed on mediation, while the other group places their stress on modification. Praxis preserves the transcendental subject, the Cartesian ego, which stands over against the world, judges the experiences of it and selectively arranges them for the realization of immanent aims.

In this chapter I should like to outline my position regarding this opposition between a "scientific" Marxism and a humanist Marxism in light of recent debates which have attempted to introduce a phenomenological dimension into the above conflict. If one does not choose *ex nihilo* from the body of phenomenological or Marxist writings then a phenomenological Marxism or dialectical phenomenology becomes a possibility.

Marxist Structuralism

In McLuhan's catch phrase, "the medium is the message,"[1] Marxist structuralism envisions man being subordinated by culture (reality) which imposes its order on the subject. For such structuralists, like Althusser, the system has a structure of dominance.

Social relations of production and the forces of production determine the character of the social totality. This then, depends on which particular structure is causal or dominant. Historically, Althusser argues that theological, economic and (today) political structure (base) enables a unity in complexity to remain at a stable, steady state. His term "conjuncture" expresses the co-existence of uneven instances of development in the infrastructure.[2]

Althusser's outlook is a variation of the orthodox Marxist position wherein base (subsistence and reproduction) determines the super-structure (means of production and social relations of production). The infrastructure provides a rationale for the base. Today, institutions support the state, which is the dominant "strong" structure. Change, in Althusser's system, occurs when contradictions amongst the infrastructure accumulate and fuse into a revolutionary rupture. This fusion by contradictions amongst various levels of the infrastructure, Althusser has termed overdetermination.[3]

Althusser's structuralism presents a pragmatic theory of truth, applicable for communist technocratic domination. His use of the term "problematic" places the stress on ecological variables (means of subsistence and means of reproduction) rather than on economic variables (forces of production and social relations of production). The result is to treat the infrastructure as ideological reflections of the dominant base. His epistemology is largely a problem-solving approach. Praxis, as the application of theory to practice to produce a product in the real world, is defined in terms of an instrumentalist theory of truth. (Are the results verifiable because they are reproducible? - i.e., Do they work in a given context?) This is "scientific" Marxism because contradictions can be transformed into concrete specific results by the application of theory which alone has an autonomous existence outside the given system. Through theory, the scientist first examines the given ideological situation (Generality I); Generality II identifies the problematic. This means identifying the underlying structure which renders possible the raising of certain questions in a particular form, while ruling out the raising of others. Through the transformative labor of science, the problematic becomes the critique of the existing situation. Finally, the scientific implementation to solve the problem and therefore to transform the situation into the concrete becomes Generality III. This is the knowledge produced by the work of Generality II on Generality I.[4]

All structuralists reject the role of history in their system.[5] Althusser is no exception. In rejecting history this position stays clear of a phenomenological position wherein there is a search for essences through which the relative significance of the elements of culture might be judged according to their approximation to the ideal or their failure to approximate that ideal.

Lévi-Strauss, who claims Marxist affiliations, takes a given cultural configuration as it is found in a given time and place and examines it synchronically through the study of the uses of the signs that characterize both its theory and practice as a cultural system. Diachronic analysis becomes the deep code of the culture. By knowing all the codes of all instances of a particular cultural manifestation (like myth for example) a universal structure can be proclaimed.

Foucault has called this approach archeological rather than historical.[6]

Structuralists deal on the level of messages and codes. All messages and codes are given equal weighting in a particular culture; high art and popular art remain indistinguishable when transformed into signs and modalities.

Marxist structuralist aesthetics are represented by Galvano Della Volpe[7] and more recently by Terry Eagleton[8] in England, while Fiske and Hartley[9] have made a contribution in reading the signs of television. Volpe presents a "sociologized" Marxism or what he calls an aesthetic semiotics or an epistemological theory of artistic languages. Form (la langue) becomes the artistic style while content becomes the speech, art or image. Volpe's formalism claims universality of character built on the complex of abstract qualities of the "species man" at a particular historical time. This universality is inherent in type and genera yielded by perception. Hence, characters, so-called imaginative universals, whose structure has a compositioned order, could be used as cultural indicators to understand the meaning of a cultural mode.

Eagleton's[10] literary aesthetic presents a structuralism wherein ontology remains non-problematic. The General Mode of Production is the dominant structure whereas the Literary Mode of Production, General Ideology, Authorial Ideology, Aesthetic Ideology and Text are superstructural elements. Each of these structures interrelates and interpenetrates the others. Each has its own internal and external contradictions.

Fiske and Hartley introduce a semiotics of television. Signs and codes are identified by a structural analysis of various genres (i.e., policeman's plot, documentary, dance). In art education, Robert Witkin[11] presents a recent structuralist attempt which outlines three artistic phases: the setting out of the sensate problem, the making of a holding (changing) form, and movement through successive approximations to a resolution. Praxis becomes a feedback loop for problem-solving.

The aesthetic theory of Lucien Goldmann[12] is a more sophisticated variation of the above theories. Genetic structuralism, following Jean Piaget and the influence of Georg Lukács, is Goldmann's attempt to view man as a more active participant in history. What distinguishes Goldmann from Lévi-Strauss, Louis Althusser and other "formal" structuralists is his notion of dépassement (transcendence). The acting subject is a collective or transindividual subject in the social system whose action can affect the existing situation and establish new boundaries for the system. Rather than a dominant ideology, a hegemony that views the whole over its parts, Goldmann claims the potentiality of a post-ideological position.[13] A person transforms his conditions according to needs and desires. Structure becomes the pattern of events a transindividual or collective subject goes through. The significance of a structure refers to its solution of a problem or series of problems. The organism is constantly in a part-whole flux. Each time a significant and hence meaningful structure is reached which fulfills certain desires and needs, new structures have to be developed from the old to solve new problems. Hence, a positive and a negative dialectic occurs as elements are discarded and others are synthesized into a new concern. Praxis is therefore an active process whereby the actor transforms the world and modifies himself in the process.

The move from Being to Becoming introduces history into the equation. Man as the subject of action can be aware of his past. This self-consciousness as a reflection can have a bearing on his current praxis. It is Goldmann's contention that mental structures which underlie various modes of thought in a given socio-historical environment can be identified through the examination of the form of a particular work. Form as mediated content refers to the mental categories which organize the empirical consciousness of a particular group as well as the imaginary universe created by the artist. This "world-view" of the group is not created by the artist but merely expresses the collective mental production of the group.

The classics and "great art" are the highest creations of a group, hence they reflect the efforts of the collective subject to go beyond their environment; mediocre works, on the other hand reflect, but do not re-invent or go beyond the systems boundary. Through the examination of these works the investigator has an idea of the used or unused potential of the group in a historical context.

Artistic works represent an intersection of individual and collective consciousness. These coherent world-views are achieved by what Goldmann has referred to as "privileged social groups" whose thought, affectivity and comportment are directed to a global organization of interhuman relations and relations between man and nature.

Goldmann also feels that this group, like Gramsci's organic intellectuals,[14] is affiliated with a particular collective subject, a social class, which develops the artistic theory. Through the examination of theory and practice in other superstructural institutions, notably philosophy and science, Goldmann could make comparisons amongst competing ideologies in any given context. Explanations could then be given for the meanings of particular art forms.

Goldmann's geneticism shows through when he asserts that certain universal principles apply to aesthetic investigations. The claim to minimal rationality is his assertion of Hegel's identity principle: epistemology cannot be separated from ontology. Furthermore, all things human have a social and historical character and the self is created through self-reflective judgments which transcend space and time. According to genetic structuralism these conscious structures are functional because they represent the patterned modes of thought developed by social groups to come to terms with their environment and fellow man.

With the failure of the 1968 French student revolt, Goldmann began to re-examine his position and lean towards the position maintained by Marcuse.[15] No longer was the authentic work one which opposed the reification of reality by upholding values contrary to modern social consciousness. Potential consciousness for change had been contracted by the service industry of popular culture.

One of the major moves against a genetic structuralism made by humanist Marxists has been to eliminate the nature-nurture distinction which the above position implies. Schmidt, in his *The Concept of Nature in Marx*,[16] argues that *homo sapiens* should be identified with *homo faber*. The realization that the capacity for rational knowledge gave man control over scarcity, also meant the transformation of his perception and imagination. This means that consciousness is not fixed. By willfully changing his praxis man can influence his own thoughts. Historically, man's intelligence has increased proportionately as he has learned to transform nature.

Humanists have, therefore, questioned the notion of fixed emotions and fixed intelligence in any given socio-historical mode.

> Hunger is hunger. But the hunger which is satisfied with cooked meat eaten with a knife and fork is another hunger than that which swallows raw meat with the aid of hands, nails and teeth.[17]

What we consume in theory and what we do in practice alter our perceptions of the world, as in turn the world alters us. Claus Riegel[18] has argued that Piagetian theory is too limited because of the nature of the child's sense operations with objects and his social interactions with others. Phenomenologically, children indeed perceive differences in volumes given two very distinct beakers with the same quantity of water, but developmental capacities waver with age. The old experience loss of memory, some reverting back to child-like perceptions. Ontogenesis is not simply the mere accumulation of new elements.[19]

Marxist Humanism

The post-revolutionary communists, Lukács, Korsh and Gramsci, argued that a materialist dialectic, as presented in its orthodox form (i.e., first by Kautsky and then Lenin; now in its more recent sophisticated structuralist form, with Althusser) was too reductive in its view of man. They questioned the primacy of matter over mind, of objective conditions over consciousness. They sought to re-evaluate the relationship between sense and non-sense, theory and practice. Marxists with a praxiological orientation, gave greater weight to the active conscious side of man. They denied that consciousness was determined by social existence. They argued that structuralists had confused the distinction between "economic factors" and economic structure.[20] Freedom from scarcity had been given a one-sided quantitative treatment. The quality of life began to be measured by the growth of the country's gross national profit Participatory democratic needs were ignored. Hence, paradoxically, America appeared to be the shining example of a future communist state where the worker was emancipated from economic necessity by having more non-productive leisure time hours and an abundant supply of goods.[21] A more sophisticated version of this argument was to replace the "economic factor" with the "political factor" and to claim that the U.S.S.R. was the epitome of a democratic state.

In both these extremes one dominant hierarchical structure determines all other factors such as law, art, state and morals. Variations of this structuralism see a number of dominant structures controlling the institutions, i.e., political, economic and social status. Needs become reducible to "material." Human psychological needs such as creativity, decision-making, motivation, care, hope, faith, honor, respect, are overlooked. Structuralism becomes a Marxism without a subject. Humanists argue that the distribution of wealth, the hierarchy and structure of power and the gradation of social status (prestige) are to be seen as social relations and means of production, rather than as a function of changing economic structures. The organization of relations and the tools of production become central concepts to comprehending a society in action.

Humanist Marxists try to introduce the subject as the motor of history. In Critique of Dialectical Reason, Sartre states, "If we do not wish the dialectic to become a divine law again, a metaphysical fate, it must proceed from individuals and not some kind of supra-individual ensemble."[22] Rather than the concept of totality, a unity of the processes that had gone to make it up, Sartre introduced the term totalization which preserves the movement of history. Later, there developed a fundamental change in Sartre's notion of freedom and human self-analysis. If existence did precede essence, then man was free to choose. He was condemned to make choices for himself. Sartre has shifted to a more complex view of consciousness wherein full weight is given to sociological and psychological conditions which limit man's free action.

In Search for Method,[23] Sartre defines the fundamental existential structure of man as need, not freedom. Centering on scarcity as the motor of the dialectic,[24] Sartre attempts to comprehend the totalizing movement of an artist's transcendence from being a part of an acceptable class ideology to going beyond its boundaries to produce significant works of art. "Valéry is a petit bourgeois intellectual, no doubt about it. But not every petit bourgeois intellectual is Valéry."[25]

The valuable contribution Sartre makes to a humanist Marxism is to introduce an existentialist psychoanalysis which attempts to understand the particular institutions which come to bear upon an individual as he develops from a child to an adult. Sartre calls this process an individual's "project" - a totalization which can be comprehended through a regressive-progressive method and an analytical-synthetic method. This simply means that the investigator moves from part to whole, from the individual to his institutionalized background and analyzes the hierarchy of impinging mediated structures which the actor sees as having significance for his life-world.[26]

Gramsci[27] attempted to outline a theory of praxis which would provide a programme for an individual to transcend his material conditions. The fact that historically there have been individuals who have overcome and transformed their social relations meant that a non-alienated individual was possible. From Gramsci's point of view, the individual had to start with his own biography and attempt to modify the complex set of relations which define his "human nature." This meant going beyond the commonsense view of reality in an attempt to make the unconscious conscious.

> One might almost say that [man] has two theoretical consciousnesses (or one contradictory consciousness): one which is implicit in his activity and which in reality unites him with all his fellow workers in the practical transformation of the real world, and one, superficially explicit or verbal, which he has inherited from the past and uncritically absorbed.[28]

Modifying one's environment, which was the ensemble of relations which one entered, meant creating one's own personality and in turn modifying the ensemble of relations.

To make the "invisible, visible" becomes the task of a critical praxiological orientation. Although Gramsci did not make explicit just how this was to be done, he provided clues. Everyone is a born philosopher, said Gramsci, because one can question one's own common sense and then criticize "everyday life." As in Lukács, whose reification theory claimed that fetishized ideas and products of man's own making controlled and manipulated him, Gramsci claimed a demystification could take place if the actor examined the progress of the chain of events both in theory and practice, then reflected upon their implications for further practice; a state of contradictory consciousness would result which would influence one's moral conduct towards the next set of events. A critical understanding would bring the actor into a struggle with political hegemonies and opposing directions. A commitment had to be made as to where "one hung one's hat."

> Consciousness of being part of a particular hegemonic force is the first stage towards a further progressive self-consciousness in which theory and practice will finally be one.[29]

Theory was not a handmaiden or an accessory of practice. Ideas had a material force. Hence, philosophy was a cultural "battle to transform the popular mentality," and hence to diffuse philosophical innovations which would demonstrate themselves to be true when they were put into social practice.

A further clue to the possiblities of achieving a critical self-consciousness was Gramsci's stress on practical activity. By practical activity, Gramsci was referring to Marx's view of praxis which was the "sensuous" appropriation of Nature through work. It can be gleaned from this definition why Husserl's "charting" of consciousness could be treated as a moment of critical theory. Husserl's epoché becomes a Surrealism, cast in a systematic and methodological programme which sustains the kind of shock and disengagement needed to disclose conscious intentionality.

As Gramsci had noted, it was difficult for him to believe that a noumenal world existed. Knowledge of things was nothing other than ourselves, our needs and interests. Husserl also grappled with this view. The mind-body problem was overcome. Descartian dualism disappeared Everything was encountered as a being-in-a-context. One apprehended from a kind of zero-point location. The "here" and "now" of one's body were concentric zones of the "far and near." As Kosok put it·

> Physiologically speaking, it is interesting to note that the skin and brain, or the organ which senses, and the organ which coordinates and "thinks," are actually self-differentiations of the same basic tissue - namely, the ectoderm. Thus, the singular process expressing itself through a dialectic of opposition is a chemical-electronic nerve complex in which the "sensory end" relating the body to its physical functions in an environment, and the "thinking end" coordinating the various modalities of sensation into a totality, are but two inseparable sides. One literally feels with one's brain and thinks with one's skin as fingers, arms, legs and body - sensory feelings and mental thinking being two aspects of a singular organic neurological process and not two compartments of a composite structure.[30]

Husserl's theory of consciousness went beyond Descartes *res cogitans*, Locke's *tabula rasa*, Leibniz's *monad*, Hume's mosaic of impressions and ideas, and Kant's dualism of forms and categories. He came to terms with Hegel by claiming that Mind has contact with the external world prior to all analysis. Perceiving, remembering, expecting, representing pictorially, imagining, identifying, distinguishing, believing, evaluating, as distinct ways of being-in-the-world, could be charted. Through reflection, Kant's synthetic a priori gained concreteness.

Husserl's Theory of Consciousness

The first assumption which the method of the epoché (suspension of belief) makes is the possibility that a value - neutral stance can be taken while examining the contents of one's own consciousness.[31] Suspension from all theories, information, beliefs, attitudes, becomes absolutely essential when examining the life-world. In reflection, the attempt is made to grasp the very complex process of consciousness as it "entertains" a specific object. This has been called consciousing, the noetic-noematic complex. Noesis becomes the act of perception while noema is the object perceived. Reflection becomes the attempt of the individual to apprehend both the seen object and the seeing of the object. This means that reflection collapses the noesis-noema distinction. Kosok terms this a dialectical phenomenology because if consciousness is always conscious of something, then the subjective act is always objective, and the object is always subjective.[32] Immediacy means the inseparability of subject-object in the natural attitude; subjectivity becomes a concrete immediacy. The self and world must function as a world-conditioned self and hence, every subjective act becomes a bodily act, an act which is sensually and practically related to the world as a condition of its existence. The world is self-hood, that is, a field relative to which the ego-body functions as its object.

Significant to a phenomenological view of mind is the realization that different consciousings can have the same or different objects and the same consciousing can have the same or different objects. That means that in reflection, a different attitude of mind can be studied towards particular objects. One can reflect upon an object as it is loved, or hated, judged or denied. The problem becomes to account for why one's own mental life, body and world are experienced. in a particular way. This then brings meaning into the equation of reflection. Intention and meaning are inextricably tied to one another and in Gramsci's terms, all knowledge is then "practical." However, through reduction or through a critical attitude one can make clear the "essence" of a particular structure of a particular conscious process in a particular intentional act. A particular type of psychic process is possible to uncover by examining a number of examples to find invariant universal features. This is an ontological quest because the phenomenologist is trying to uncover the necessary and sufficient conditions of a particular consciousness. Different beings-in-the-world have different structures of space-time and intersubjective relationships. Phenomenological descriptions of anger and happiness would yield two very different structures, however, the search would be for the invariant forms of the experience of anger and likewise, of happiness.[33] The hope which phenomenological psychologists share, is for the possibility of communication between various perspectives or horizons of "anger," made explicit by the epoché which would allow for an understanding of the emotion.

Along with intentionality as a universal character of consciousness, the notion of time and space play an important part. Being-in-the-world is a "future, making present, in the process of having been" in Heideggerian language. Time becomes an important characteristic in reflection where there is no apparent engagement in an activity; that is, listening to music, looking at an artwork. This characteristic of consciousness is still an explication of intent, though on another theme or level. The notion of time which has many different phases (i.e., childhood experiences, future goals, particular vivid memories of successes) will affect the self's understanding. Phenomenological descriptions are always "thick" due to this complexity of consciousness. Intentionality *of* is characterized by its being *intentively retentive* to the past and *intentively protentive* to the future.[34]

The viewing of a picture means that the retention of the past perception of pictures and the *protention* of viewing the next work, i.e., as in viewing a moving picture, is occurring in the present. However, both past and future collapse in the present complex conscious process.

There is a *sedimentation*, an overlay of senses of types and differentiations into subtypes which results in a stock of knowledge at hand that each individual has and brings to bear at each moment of perception. This tacit dimension in Polanyi's sense,[35] or syntactical synthesis in Husserl's sense, means that there are innate ideas which modify new perceptions and as Merleau-Ponty's work on aphasia victims has shown,[36] perception is also a body response. The importance of a tacit dimension can be illustrated by an occurrence during World War I wherein Austro-Hungarian and Polish peasants were sold a number of different photographs of a man's face. A beard, mustache, a combination of both and the clean-shaven look provided the necessary range of variation. Peasant women selected the photo which they thought was an exact picture of their husband.[37] Ultimately then, as Schutz had pointed to,[38] what a person attended to depended on a person's biography, life-plan, texture of choices, decisions, projects. A range of attentivaness of the noema was possible in any reflection. The self, because it had typicalities, concerns, values, goals, habits, moods, attitudes, styles of thinking, was conscious of the world, others and itself.

For instance, an artwork (the noema) may be experienced from a wide variety of positions or modalities (noesis); i.e., as physical object, as an example of a particular theory, or as one of a series of works. These then are the horizons of potentialities. However, phenomenologists claim that there is a most originary mode in experiencing (intending) an object.[39] Optimum conditions regarding this noema (art) would mean experiencing it aesthetically.[40]

Husserl defined three possible modes of consciousness of the same thing: really presented, re-presented and non-presented or imagined like symbolization. Every possible intended object had its own type of presentedness to which was correlated a most originary mode. Because intention of the noema was always specific, the range of noesis could vary. However, only two positionalities could be taken towards the noema: a doxic positionality, that is, when one averred to the noema in a mode of belief or disbelief and a sentic positionality which was in the form of a valuation, volition or emotion.

These two positions, the doxic and sentic, or cognitive and affective, are intimately related. Sentic positionalities are however on a higher level of founded strata because they are necessarily founded on doxic positionalities. "To desire, love, hate, anything at all is already to accept or doubt or deny it as existent in some modality."[41] Sentic acts cannot exist without doxic acts but doxic acts do not need sentic acts. One can believe in something and not like it, but one has an emotional reaction to something if one has an opinion (doxic) of it. From this it follows that the noetic-noematic correlation is founded on interests. A more value-inclusive position would not only mean a more complete grasp of the noema, but progressively less ego-involvement.

Phenomenological Marxism

The appeal to incorporate phenomenology in Marxism comes from the possibility of making the epoché a radical process. The critical phase of phenomenology is a movement which makes one aware of what is already in oneself. Because one can refer to and make explict a particular stratum of intent between noesis and noema, it is possible to "unfold" a number of "layers" of consciousness to arrive at a more complete foundation. The possibility of analyzing the relations of the explicated strata, specifically, how they interlace and inter-connect or zigzag as Husserl maintains, makes it in turn, possible to see how the phenomenon relates to social, historical, economic and political dimensions.

Phenomenological Marxists, notably Paci,[42] Piconne,[43] Kosok,[44] view the pre-categorical world, variably called the hermeneutic-as, life-world or Lebenswelt as the foundation of all science and values. The Lebenswelt as pure belief (doxa), is below the level of consciousness; it is the life of practical knowing. The apophantic-as or categorical world, in Heidegger's sense, theoria, is the expression of the pre-categorical level. The epoché as a constantly repeatable process or hermeneutic circle, enables a defetishization to take place. This unfolding or revealing of the real world however, is not "located" behind the one given to consciousness. There are no two worlds, i.e., a separate life-world behind the world of fetishistic consciousness. The epoché is seen as a practical act; a practical transformation of the world itself and not the revelation of an already existing act. The attempt therefore, by Piccone and Paci, is to "materialize" Husserl by interpreting the base as the Lebenswelt and the proletariat as the transcendental subject.[45] The base becomes the sphere of teleological human activity while the superstructure becomes the domain of cultural and spiritual objectifications. Science and art, for example, as creative categories of human praxis are expressed through "model buildings" which function as a gestalt or frame of reference. In science, Kosok claims this is the practical way in which the phenomenology of the subject-object expresses itself.[46]

The "new phenomenology"[47] accepts the world of everyday as experience, but this experience does not have a primarily epistemological connotation. Rather, it encompasses a sphere of the widest generality and universality; it is viewed as a totality, encompassing all of human life. Experience in this world takes place on the level of ordinary "intuition." It is pre-scientific in the sense that it presupposes no special operations of any kind beyond ordinary "natural" employment of human senstivity and understanding. Art knowledge represents one such categorical departure. It is partial knowledge of the totality, just as the sciences represent partial knowledge of the totality. Hence, there is an attempt for a new unity between the sciences of man and the natural sciences undertaken by such dialecticians as Kosok and Lask. As Kosok states, totality in the materialist sense means,

> reality as a structured, dialectical whole in which and from which every fact, class of facts, complex of facts, can be rationally understood; a telologically understood reality based on man's historically determined praxis. Materialistically understood, the totality is the creation of the social production of man.[48]

The totality is not to be equated with the notion of the "whole." Unlike a cybernetic model, wherein the whole is greater than any one part, totality in the phenomenological dialectic maintains a whole - part co-relation. The parts realize themselves through the whole and the whole through its parts. The part can therefore transcend and be different from the whole, yet at the same time it defines the whole. Hence a non-identity between part and whole is posited.

The structure of praxis is viewed as modification, the mode of actual becoming. This modification is only interrupted by sleep, unconsciousness or death. All form is modified content. The transforming of immediacy into a non-immediate state requires negation and reflection. However, reflection can be conscious or unconscious. Unconscious reflection as I understand it, is essentially a feedback loop ranging from simple structures like a reflexive arc to the more sophisticated flow chart feedback systems of cybernetic models. Conscious reflection should be radical reflection. Marcuse's early attempt at a phenomenological Marxism makes this comment.

> Every action humanly "alters the circumstances," but not every action alters human *existence*. Human existence does not necessarily change with a change of circumstances. Only *radical action* changes both the circumstances and human existence.[49]

The *Lebenswelt* becomes the source of change. For Paci it is the original region of needs and at the same time, it is the struggle for the satisfaction of needs both economic and psychological. It becomes the original operations aiming towards a *telos* of truth. But truth is given a different treatment. The *Lebenswelt* is not "being." An ontology, as developed in Heidegger's *Being and Time*, is rejected. The contradictions between the categorical and pre-categorical become the realm of truth.

Critical Existentialism

Habermas' critique of Marx's dialectical theory[50] revealed that Marx had two different conceptions of ideology and the relationship of consciousness to work processes. A "positivist" ideology was apparent in his historical materialism, whereby ideology becomes a reflection of class domination. The superstructure appears as a direct function of the base (i.e., theological, economic or political). The dialectic between the means of production and relations of production becomes a functional one.

A "more active phenomenological" ideology was developed in the context of political economy, wherein bourgeois rationalist ideology represented a progressive and more equitable solution by providing the conditions for an achieved status, rather than an ascribed status. Feudalist absolutism was replaced by a market economy which claimed justice, equality and freedom for all. Such a revolutionary consciousness meant an emancipatory process mediated by communicative practice and reflection. Such a critical ideology was needed to overcome the power constraints originating in scarcity, on the one hand, and institutional prohibitions and ideological limitations of authority on the other.

Habermas rejected Husserl's phenomenology, preferring to leave it and positivism as two separate knowledge interests.[51] He argued that a critical consciousness or post-ideological consciousness could be developed on the foundations of a universal pragmatic, based on rational consensus and distortion-free knowledge. Habermas drew on Pierce's pragmatics as his inspiration for a unified communication theory. Kosík, on the other hand, represents a critique of Heidegger's existential phenomenology and attempts to ground the Marxian dialectic in intentionality which does not become an ontological category but a directionality or telos. This is to say that Kosík is making a distinction between human essence and human nature.

Human essence and human nature are not synonymous concepts.[52] According to the Marxian conception, the "essence of man" is to be found in work, sociality, consciousness and in the universality which embraces these three moments and expresses itself in each of them. By producing and reproducing social life, in forming himself as a socio-historical being, man produces material goods which form the material-sensory world based on work, while social conditions based on his sociality produce social relations and institutions. Ideas and emotions are human qualities, products of his consciousness, which itself is the product of his work and sociality. The essence of man is the unity of objectivity and subjectivity. This universality of man and his freedom, as the progressive broadening and deepening of his capabilities and needs, forms interaction and experience, which mark the general directionality of human praxis. History as a unified process is the unfolding of man's essential being. Human nature on the other hand, is the needs and capacities of typical individuals of given historical epochs; it is the totality of their characteristics in the context of their human possibilities. Therefore, human nature is variable.

Care is Heidegger's[53] name for how man is and how he wholly is. Man's extremely complex existence can be articulated into three main structures: existence (self), throwness (facticity) and fallenness. In the first of these three articulations of care, man is constantly attempting to transcend himself, throwing himself forward so that new possibilities may be disclosed. The temporal meaning of this "forwardness" of care is the future. This original disclosure *is not a conscious discovery or a thinking out of what might come*, but the precategorical *understanding* of existence (hermeneutic-as). The *I am* has to be primarily understood from the "fore-throw" of an *I can be*.

The second articulation of care is man's own "facticity." The "fact" of his being must also be grasped through what he has been. The time character of throwness is the past. The last articulation of care is fullness. Man is thrown into a world which already exists and in which he must contend. Man must "put up or shut up." Heidegger uses the term "fallenness," paraphrased as "falling captive to the world." The temporal meaning of fallenness is the present. Care is the unity of these structures; it is the unity of the future, past and present.

Heidegger's conception of *Dasein* viewed man as essentially passive;[54] care was the pure activity of the social individual in isolation. He claimed that essences cannot grasp reality because *theoria* or the categorical world prevented the experience of the "thingness" of things. In contrast, Kosík attempts to redefine care as the practical involvement of the individual. It becomes relative to a world created by man through *work* and *creativity* (interaction), which is elucidated through art, philosophy, science, religion. There is more stress on Becoming which is a constituted historical Being. He attempts to provide a new theory of truth which becomes a *rational* social telos grounded in Heidegger's "hermeneutic-as." Truth, as for Husserl, becomes a regulative ideal.

Kosík's notion of truth centers around his view that knowledge is the dialectic itself in one of its forms. Knowledge is an appropriation, a working through of reality which itself is the unity of phenomenon and the essence.

> The dialectic of the activity and passivity in human knowledge manifests itself first of all in the fact that man, in order to know things in themselves, must first of all transform them in things for himself. In order to know things as they are independently of himself, he must first submit them to his own praxis. In order to observe how they are when they are not in contact with him he must first come into contact with them[55]

It becomes the task of a critical philosophy to comprehend the structure of the thing-in-itself.

> The destruction of pseudo-concreteness [through negation] that dialectical thought must accomplish does not deny the existence or the objectivity of those phenomena. It destroys, however their pretended independence by demonstrating their mediacy, and against it carries the proof of the derivation of their pretended independence.[56]

Routine or common sense thinking, as immediate utilitarian praxis, Kosík terms the pseudo-concrete. At this level one operates with ideas and categories which provide for an understanding of phenomenal reality, but do not allow for a comprehension of reality. Essence or the really "real" is always partly concealed as well as revealed. Essence must partly show itself in phenomena, otherwise one would see reality as another world - Platonism or Christianity or Hegelian Absolutism.

> Common thought is the ideological form of everyday human activity. Yet the world that is presented to man in fetishized praxis, in transacting and manipulating, is not the real world, although it has the "consistence" and the "validity" of the real world. It is "the world of appearance" (Marx). The representation of the thing that passes for the "thing

> itself" and that creates ideological appearances, does not constitute a natural quality of the thing and of reality, rather, it is the projection of determinate historical conditions that have been petrified into the consciousness of the subject.[57]

The distinction between phenomena and essence disappears in everyday non-reflective life because one assumes that the phenomenal aspect of the thing is really the essence. In reflecting, taking either side of this relationship, between essence (theory) and phenomena (practice), will lead either into an idealism (all phenomena are essences) or materialism (all essences are phenomena). Every perception and action isolates phenomena. It divides reality into what is essential and what is secondary and it is always accompanied by the perception of the whole in which and from which certain aspects are isolated. This totality is below the level of consciousness. It forms the background of every action as an obscure intuited horizon of indeterminate reality. Ultimate totality is never known. Knowledge is only partial. However, to get at the hidden essence of everyday experience, to understand its reality one must get at the relations of everyday experience to the structure of our society that are generated through praxis. Intentionality is developed in a social context and it is the genesis of this social context which must be reclaimed to develop as a critique. This gives us a consciousness, an insight into our world as it is humanly made and how it could be otherwise. Kosík's totality is the account of the genesis of parts.[58]

Unlike Habermas, Kosík does not view instrumental reason and intercommunication as separate interest realms. Conflating practical knowing and technical knowing can lead to an economic determinism, but

Kosík avoids this by claiming that the relationship between necessity (economics) and freedom (human creativity) or theory and practice is necessarily a real dialectical disunity and this very disunity has unity as its telos. Both these moments are fundamentally inseparable. "[The real world] is the comprehension of human social reality as a unity of production and product, of subject and object of genesis and structure."[59]

What is central to this notion is Kosík's claim that praxis is a transcendent activity which involves a moment of recognition. This recognition is the realization of freedom; a projection of the new. "Human consciousness is 'reflection' and at the same time 'projection', direction and construction, observation and planning. It is reflective and anticipative, while at the same time receptive and active."[60] This is the telos of history, the continual boundary breaking towards greater and greater freedom.

> Praxis is the exposure of the mystery of man as an onto-formative being, as a being that forms the socio-human reality and therefore also grasps and interprets it. Man's praxis is not practical activity as opposed to theorizing; it is the determination of human being as the process of forming reality.[61]

Praxis for Kosík, includes meaning. It is an existential moment which exists in man changing nature to culture through labor and in the process of forming the subject in which existential moments like nausea, anxiety, fear, joy, laughter, hope, stand out as part of the struggle for realizing human freedom.[62]

As I understand Kosík, the disunity of necessity and freedom has unintended consequences.[63] Truth lies in the relationship between intent and its result. To the extent that phenomena and essence are never in unity, history becomes the source of man's comprehending his nature and the possibility of shaping his future.

If truth becomes making the potential actual, the relationship between theory and practice needs to be qualified. Values, as the ideal intents, and practice as the concrete actions, become defined by ethics which bear upon the social relations of interaction and politics which govern the social organization. The unity of this reality as a socio-political formation is supplemented by man's biological needs of subsistence and reproduction. Ethics and politics become crucial for man's conduct both in his theory and practice because he can only realize himself by creating an objective world, the Fichtean Non-Ego on which his existence depends. To the extent man retains his mundane existence and does not transcend the realm of necessity but continues to reproduce and maintain the socio-historical mode, he reifies both his beliefs and his practice. History then becomes the struggle to achieve rationality. Every socio-historical mode achieves a new base for reason. Man realizes himself through history. He becomes humanized, wherein freedom is the understanding of necessity.

> There are three fundamental factors intervening in history: the dialectic between conditions and actions; the dialectic between subjective intentions and objective results of human behavior, and the dialectic between human existence and consciousness, i.e., the discrepancy between what men are, what they believe themselves to be, what they are considered to be, and the actual and the presumed character of their behavior. The interpretation and unity of these elements are the foundation of the manifold complexity of historical dimensions.[64]

Kosík's work, the Dialectics of the Concrete, provides sufficient fundamental presuppositions for the kind of critical existential approach which has been earlier proposed. Some final matters, such as the role of historicism and the relation of Kosík's theory to the realm of aesthetics, form the final section of this chapter.

Further Clarification of Terms

Historism and Historicism

As against the historicist position, which would see art as simply expressing a reality, and hence, bound to an historical period, Kosík introduces the term historism, which is a neologism for the capacity of artworks to survive through a number of socio-historical periods and hence, also form the period itself.[65] Some works retain their "life" because they point beyond themselves. Each socio-historical mode has a totalizing cultural repertoire; historically generated forms of consciousness or ways of human existence as portrayed in works of art. As soon as they are created in some particular unique epoch they may themselves form history and acquire validity independent of their origin. They continue to live and exist in the living present because they have enriched the human subject permanently.

> Human history is an incessant totalization of the past, in the course of which human praxis incorporates and thus revives moments of the past. In this sense, human reality is not only the production of the new but also a - critical and dialectical - reproduction of the old. Totalization is the process of production and reproduction, of reviving and rejuvenating.[66]

Such enduring artworks give us fundamental insight into man's humanity. This is not to claim humanity as some abstracted ideal. Man is always a concretization and "humanity" should always be seen in the context of a concrete situation. One might also add the criteria of the weight of the artwork in the balance of history and the power to create a sense of community, that is, a sense of the age or tradition. The history of art is therefore a zigzag of critical and ideological artforms.

"Authentic" art is both demystifying and revolutionary because it confronts man about his ideas about common sense reality. Kosik's remark that not every petit bourgeois intellectual is Franz Kafka illustrates this view. Certain artworks transcend the historicity of their respective worlds because their form as modified content can still "speak" in another period.

Aesthetics and Art

Aesthetic sensibility is a universal category the radiation of which progressively decreases as one goes down the ethological ladder. The activity of art (visual, oral, architectural, musical, dance), is the objectification of this sensibility. Conceivably, one may divorce aesthetic experience from the artwork which is to say, an art-object is not a guarantee for an aesthetic experience. Indeed, Nature and other human artifacts often become its source. This biological a priori exists at the level of what Merleau-Ponty[67] has called presence which occurs in ordinary perception. As the fundamental ground it is the preconscious accord with the world, achieved through the corporeal a priori. The sensuous qualities of color, hue, texture and sound are perceived through it.

There are artworks however, which demand our attention. They re-present for us an entire world. One can extrapolate from an architectural building such things as man's attitude to nature, degree of realization of human freedom, the organization of space, the expression of time. The artwork thus forms this new sensibility. Perception, at the level of feeling, Dufrenne notes, allows the work to "speak" of its peculiar affective quality.[68]

The structure of aesthetic experience as a way of being-in-the-world changes socio-historically. There are, however, what may be termed aesthetic residuals due to the uneven development of various institutions which continue to provide meaning for various sub-groups. These aesthetic residuals function at the commonsense level of aesthetic sensibility.

Aesthetic perception from a critical existential viewpoint must be seen socio-historically. It seems evident that aesthetic perception as the unity of subject-object assumes that the level of feeling allows the viewer to know a familiar affective world, like the tragic, comic, beautiful, sublime. This tacit understanding assures meaning but not comprehension. Critical reflection which necessarily removes the perceiver from the immediacy of aesthetic experience, becomes a necessary pre-condition for a fuller,more sympathetic and enriched experience. There are obviously, affective categories which are not part of a person's life-world. Laughing and crying may be universal categories, but their mediated forms vary historically.[69]

The structure of aesthetic-experience as a way of being-in-the world changes socio-historically. New aesthetic sensibilities are created, as new affective categories, as man progresses towards new stages of consciousness through his work and sociability. Aesthetics as an axiological discipline cannot be divorced from his political organization nor his ethical considerations because it is through their conflation that he transcends towards new aesthetic sensibilities. Aesthetics, politics, ethics are inextricably related to man's being-in-the-world.

To examine change in aesthetic sensibility, to see what new aesthetic categories are developing is to adopt Marx's method of investigation which will give clues to the change of consciousness. Social organization provides one such indicator, as does the state of man's technology, the stratification of society and the role of new institutions. His aesthetic theories provide us with clues as to how he interprets his art forms.

A Critical Existential Examination of Art, Aesthetics and Art Education

To examine changes in aesthetic sensibility is to identify the new aesthetic values which came into being historically. An ontogenesis of aesthetic sensibility means that it is necessary to identify both ideological and critical art. Critical art is Novelty Proper;[70] it points beyond itself. It is "progressive." A new aesthetic value, out of necessity, is added to the cultural repertoire. Ideological art, on the other hand, merely reflects the status quo. In any givan socio-historical mode there will be competing aesthetic positions and artworks which support them. A great many of these positions will be a result of the cultural repertoire accumulated from previous socio-historical modes, which are slower to change or try to maintain their dominance. Globally, some positions will be more "progressive" than others - this judgment being made on the degrees of freedom the particular theory allows and the extent to which ethical and political presuppositions allow for the emergence of a "new" man.

Fekete has used the term "commotion" for this process.

> "Commotion" denotes a moment of historical totalization defined by a specific relation of the trans-historical (objectified praxis) and the historical (objectifying praxis), a moment of dialectical unity of continuity and discontinuity. It carries notions of form, structure, function and development within a view of history as a dimension of human activity. "Commotion" replaces the abstract positivist conjuncture of forces and relations with the location of concrete potentialities in the motion of interdeterminations of human activity and its products, and leaves room for the revolutionary praxis of a historical subject who is self-constituting through his objectifications.[71]

If there are differing aesthetic positions in any socio-historical mode then there are particular individuals in particular groups who perceive differently because their being-in-the-world is in conflict with Others. Contradictions manifest themselves as double truths and inconsistencies visible in the art produced. Conflicting practical needs result in power struggles wherein one class's needs dominate, so defining aesthetic sensibility for others. This prevents that greater human understanding which would be possible through the conscientization of new sentic experiences.

Hermeneutics:
The Interpretation of Mediations

The position taken in this thesis towards the interpretation of art history follows Gadamer.[72] The comprehension of the ontogenesis of aesthetic sensibility through man's artworks is a practical concern. This is what Gadamer calles phronesis. The interpretation is directed towards the comprehension of man's aesthetic sensibilities. Historical experience means that the interpretation of the tradition is experienced as something still important for the present. Art history, is therefore, a recovery of the past, in the present for use in the future. It is both a comprehending and a forming activity.

Any interpretation is conditioned by preunderstandings (Vörverstandnisse) or future horizons of one's life-world; and any interpretation must deal with previous preconceptions (vorturteile) or preunderstandings. Furthermore, all interpretation is partial. To the extent that it illuminates different proportions of the subject matter, it is an implicit critique of other interpretations.

Since man lives in more than one world and each world has a different key, a different intentionality and a different appropriation of reality, each institution in a given social mode provides clues and illuminates the changing praxis of man. All are connected in various ways, in greater or lesser degrees. By keying on social relations, means of production, means of subsistence and reproduction, the changing forms of art, aesthetic theory and art education will be mapped. Then, my hermeneutic comprehension can be applied towards a critical existential art programme. If art history is the concretization of man's aesthetic growth, then its study should provide criteria for a programme. It should also throw light on creativity, artistic knowledge and what it means to be "practical" in the artistic sense.[73]

Footnotes - Chapter Two

[1] M. McLuhan and Quentin Fiore, The Medium is the Message (New York: Bantam Books, 1967).

[2] L. Althusser, For Marx (London, New Left Books, 1971).

[3] Ibid., pp. 99-101.

[4] Ibid., pp. 182-200.

[5] For a criticism of structuralism, see the following sources: L. Kolakowski, "Althusser's Marx," in The Socialist Registrar, ed. R. Miliband and John Saville (London: Merlin Press, 1971), pp. 111-128; Alex Callinicos, Althusser's Marxism (London: Pluto Press, 1976); David Baugh, Althusser's Marxism (Unpublished Master Thesis, University of Alberta, 1976); Bob Scholte, "Towards a Reflexive and Critical Anthropology," in Reinventing Anthropology, ed. Dell Hymes (New York: Random House, 1969); and J. P. Sartre, "Replies to Structuralism, An Interview," Telos 9, 1971, pp. 116-126.

[6] Michael Foucault, The Archaelology of Knowledge (London: Travistock, 1972).

[7] Galvano della Volpe, Critique of Taste (London: New Left Books, 1978).

[8] T. Eagleton, Criticism and Ideology: A Study in Marxist Literary Theory (London: New Left Books, 1976); and Marxism and Liberary Criticism (London: Methuen, 1976).

[9] J. Fiske and J. Hartley, Reading Television (London: Methuen and Co. Ltd., 1978); and Grahame Thompson, "Television as Text: Open University 'Case Study,'" in Ideology and Cultural Production, ed. Michèle Barrett et al. (London: Billing and Sons Ltd., 1979) pp. 160-198.

[10] T. Eagleton, Marxism and Literary Criticism, Chapter 3.

[11] Robert Witkin, The Intelligence of Feeling (London: Heinemann Educational, 1974).

[12] Lucien Goldmann, *The Human Sciences and Philosophy* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1969) and *Towards a Sociology of the Novel* (London: Travistock Publications, 1975).

[13] Lucien Goldmann, *Cultural Creation in Modern Society* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1977).

[14] Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from Prison Notebooks* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1971), pp. 5-14.

[15] Lucien Goldmann, "Reflections on History and Class Consciousness," in *Aspects of History and Class Consciousness*, ed. István Mészaros (London: Kegan Paul, 1971), pp. 85-127.

[16] Alfred Schmidt, *The Concept of Nature in Marx* (London: New Left Books, 1971).

[17] Ibid., pg. 84.

[18] Klaus F. Riegel, "From Traits and Equilibrium Towards Developmental Dialectics," in *Nebraska Symposium on Motivatiion, 1975*, ed. W. J. Arnold (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1975), Vol. 23 in the series on Current Theory and Research in Motivation, pp. 348-407; see also, A. Giorgi, "Phenomenology and the Foundations of Psychology," in same issue, pp. 281-348.

[19] This is Luria's contention. His studies have pointed out that perception changes socio-historically. See, A. Luria, *Cognitive Development, Its Cultural and Social Foundations* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976). How "plastic" the human creature is has been brought to light by Vance Packard's survey on the latest genetic possibilities. The creation of new forms of life, the move to eugenics and euphenics, the possibility of totally replacing human parts by plastic ones, clearly shows that human nature is very malleable. Segall, Campbell and Herskovitz's study of the "carpentered world" supports Luria's thesis that the practical life-world experiences affect perception of illusions. Color discriminations also vary from culture to culture. See V. Packard, *The People Shapers* (Camberwell, London: Futura Publications Ltd., 1978), and M. H. Segall, D. T. Campbell and J. J. Herskovitz's *The Influence of Culture on Visual Perception* (New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Co., Inc., 1966).

[20] K. Kosík, *Dialectics of the Concrete* (Boston: D. Reidel Pub. Co., 1976, Boston Studies in the Philosophy of Science, 52).

[21] In the dybosphere of the post-industrial age, Landers and Ellul argue that the technocractic age with its cameras, tape recorders, fast moving cars has resulted in a technical consciousnes which has been created at the expense of religious and philosophical critiques. Unquestionably, structuralist art is exremely rational. See R. Landers, Man's Place in the Dybosphere (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966); and J. Ellul, The Technological Society (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1964); and Propaganda: The Formation of Men's Attitudes (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1965).

[22] J. P. Sartre, Critique of Dialectical Reason (London: New Left Books, 1976), pg. 36.

[23] J. P. Sartre, Search For a Method (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1968).

[24] Ibid., pg. 97.

[25] Ibid., pg. 58.

[26] Ibid., pg. 173.

> Need, negativity, surpassing, project, transcendence, form a synthetic totality in which each one of the moments designated contains all the others.

Such psychiatrists as R. D. Laing and Cooper have adopted this practice to further understand the pathological behavior of children. The merit of this approach is the realization that in the very early years the extended family holds the highest signification for the child and that with reflection amongst members the problem can be overcome. See, R. D. Laing and D. Cooper, Reason and Violence (London: Travistock Publishers, 1971), and D. Cooper, Psychiatry and Anti Psychiatry (London: Travistock, 1967). See also, Aaron Esterson, The Leaves of Spring (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd., 1970), pp. 213-271, and C. Ratter, "Principles of Dialectical Psychology," Telos 9, 1971, pp. 83-109.

[27] A. Gramsci, Selections from Prison Notebooks.

[28] Ibid., pg. 333.

[29] Ibid., pg. 333.

[30] M. Kosok, "The Dialectics of Nature," Telos, 6, 1970, pg. 53.

[31] M. Natanson, Edmund Husserl: Philosopher of Infinite Tasks (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1973). The epoché has been translated as "suspension," "disconnection," "setting aside," "placing in abeyance," etc.

[32] Much of what follows comes from Richard M. Zaner, The Way of Phenomenology (New York: Pegasus, 1970).

[33] E. Keen, A Primer in Phenomenological Psychology (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1975), pg. 48.

[34] Richard Zaner, The Way of Phenomenology, pp. 142-149.

[35] M. Polanyi, The Tacit Dimension (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1966).

[36] J. A. Kockelmans "Merleau-Ponty's View on Space-Perception and Space," Review of Existential Psychology and Psychiatry 4(1), 1964, pp. 69-105; and "Merleau-Ponty's Phenomenology of Language," Review of Existential Psychology and Psychiatry 3, 1963, No. 1, pp. 39-82.

[37] V. Papanek, Design for the Real World (New York: Pantheon Books, 1971), pg. 56.

[38] A. Schutz and Thomas Luckmann, The Structures of the Life World (London: Heinemann, 1974), pp. 271ff.

[39] R. Zaner, The Way of Phenomenology, pg. 143.

[40] M. Dufrenne, The Phenomenology of Aesthetic Experience (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1973). Mikel Dufrenne has provided a description of aesthetic perception,of the art's noematic character.

[41] R. Zaner, The Way of Phenomenology, pg. 166.

[42] E. Paci, The Function of the Sciences and the Meaning of Man (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1972), and "The Phenomenological Encyclopedia and the Telos of History," Telos 2, 1968, pp. 5-18.

[43] P. Piconne, "Phenomenological Marxism," in Towards a New Marxism ed. Bart Grahl and Paul Piconne (St. Louis: Telos Press, 1973), pp. 133-158.

[44] M. Kosok, "The Dialectical Matrix: Towards Phenomenology as a Science," Telos 5, 1970, pp. 115-159.

[45] E. Paci, "Towards a New Phenomenology," Telos 5, 1970, pp. 58-81.

[46] M. Kosok, "The Dynamics of Paradox," Telos 5, 1970, pp. 31-43.

[47] E. Paci, "Towards a New Phenomenology," Telos 5, 1970, pp.58-65.

[48] M. Kosok, "The Dialectics of Nature," Telos 6, 1970, pg. 59.

[49] H. Marcuse, "Contributions to a Phenomenology of Historical Materialism (1928)," Telos 1(4), 1969, pg. 4.

[50] J. Habermas, Knowledge and Human Interests (Boston: Beacon Press, 1968), Part I.

[51] Ibid., pp. 304-307 and pp. 315-316. See also Göran Therborn, "Jürgen Habermas: A New Eclecticism," in New Left Review 67 (May-June 1971):69-83.

[52] See György Márkus, "Human Essence and History," International Journal of Sociology 4(1) (Spring 1974):82-125.

[53] See, Magda King, Heidegger's Philosophy (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1964), pp. 35-65.

[54] See, J. Schmidt, "Praxis and Temporality: Karl Kosík's Political Theory," Telos 33, 1977, pp. 71-84.

[55] K. Kosík, "Dialectic of the Concrete Totality," Telos 2, 1968, pg. 25.

[56] Ibid., pg. 29.

[57] Ibid., pg. 25.

[58] Ibid., pg. 35.

> The path from the "chaotic representation of the whole" to the "rich totality of the multiplicity of determinations and relationships," coincides with the comprehension of reality. The whole is not immediately knowable

> to man, even if it is given to him in a sensible form, i.e., in representations, opinions, and experience. Thus the whole is immediately accessible to man, but it is an obscure and chaotic whole. For man to know and to comprehend this whole, to render it clear and to explain it, it is necessary to make a detour. The concrete becomes comprehensible through the mediation of the abstract, the whole through the mediation of the part.

[59] Ibid., pg. 28.

[60] Ibid., pg. 33.

[61] K. Kosík, Dialectics of the Concrete (Boston: D. Reidel Pulbishing Co., 1976, Boston Studies in the Philosophy of Science, ed. Robert S. Cohen and Marx W. Wartofsky, Vol. 106), p. 137.

[62] K. Kosík, "Dialectics of the Concrete Totality," Telos 2, 1968, pg. 30.

> Unlike the world of pseudo-concretensss, the world of reality is the world of the realization of truth, it is the world in which truth is not given or predetermined, it is not already there and copies in an immutable form in human consciousness, rather, it is the world in which reality becomes. It is because of this that human history can be a process and the history of truth. The destruction of pseudo-concreteness means that truth is neither unreachable, nor can it be obtained once and for all. It means that it is made, i.e., it is developed and realized.
>
> Thus, the destruction of pseudo-concreteness comes about as: 1) the revolutionary critique of humanity's praxis, which coincides with man's human becoming, with the process of the "humanization of man" (A. Kolman), whose key-steps are constituted by social revolutions; 2) dialectical thought, which dissolves the fetishized world of appearance in order to arrive at reality and at the "thing-in-itself;" 3) the realization of truth and the creation of human reality in an ontogenetic process, since for each human individual, the world of truth is simultaneously a personal spiritual creation as a socio-historical individual. Each individual must - personally and without the possibility of someone else substituting him - give himself an education and live his life.

9

[63] A. S. Vazquez, The Philosophy of Praxis (London: Merlin Press, 1977), pp. 259ff.

[64] K. Kosík, Dialectics of the Concrete, pp. 70-71.

[65] See, K. Kosík, Dialectics of the Concrete, pp. 66-77 and S. Morawski, "Historicism and the Philosophy of Art," Praxis 4(4) pp. 71-86.

[66] K. Kosík, Dialectics of the Concrete, pg. 85.

[67] M. Merleau-Ponty, Phenomenology of Perception (New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1974, 6th impression), Part One, pp. 67-174.

[68] M. Dufrenne, Phenomenology of Aesthetic Experience (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1973).

[69] H. Plessner, Laughing and Crying: A Study of the Limits of Human Behavior (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1970).

[70] Cf. Carl R. Hausman, A Discourse on Novelty and Creation (Netherlands: Martinus Nijhoff, 1975).

[71] J. Fekete, "The New Criticism: Ideological Evolution of the Right Opposition," Telos 20 (Summer 1974), pp. 2-51.

[72] H. G. Gadamer, Truth and Method (London: Sheen and Ward, 1975).

[73] For the notion of "practicality" in the philosophical anthropological sense, see, M. Landmann, Philosophical Anthropology (Philadelphia: Westminister Press, 1974).

CHAPTER THREE

The Growth of Aesthetic Consciousness

Man's earliest aesthetic sensibilities are highly related to the many facets of his "affective" domain. Laughing, delight, love, attainment, discovery, acceptance, rhapsody, reverie, fantasy, sublimity,[1] all appear at various times as dimensions of an existential self who has at various times aesthetic experiences. It appears that the first specialized meanings or content of vocalization could have conveyed little more than basic emotional states and most obvious behavioral intentions; i.e., escape, attack, eat, copulate. It may be assumed that both modes of communication, kinesic reaction and primary vocalization were originally utilized only to convey very simple basic emotional dispositions and intentions to act. This function is still preserved in the majority of mammals and higher primates.[2]

The pre-condition for "culture" (symbolization, communication and tool use) resulted from primate evolution in the Moicene epoch of the Tertiary which lasted from twelve million to about two million years ago.[3] Tracing back the beginnings of earliest tools found, the pebble tools, there is evidence that the Australopithecine species (ca. 2 million), had established a social system with some degree of specialization. Homo habilis and Pithecanthropus (Homo erectus) were able to organize and hunt game. Hand-axes developed and the making of tools requiring more finesse led to the development of the "power grip."[4]

Although there is no evidence of symbolic activity in the record, some inferences may be drawn.[5] In order to hunt game (in this case medium game), the limitations of communication through kinesic and primitive vocalizations needed to be surpassed. Communication was forced outwards (objectified) into exaggerated bodily motions such as dance.

The first real archeological evidence of "artistic" activity is during what Bunak has termed "The Second Early Speech Stage" and coincides with the cultural activity of homo sapiens neanderthalensis.[6] The first traces of red ochre were found around grave sites. Limestone slabs, with several cupmarks drilled out have been credited to this culture.[7] The first bone instruments appeared as well as collections of odd shaped objects such as pyrites, mollusks and shiny stones. There were also signs of a belief system at several sites during the time of the Würm III Glacial Recession. The dead were buried in holes with red ochre spread over their bodies.[8] This is a good indicator of self-consciousness - the idea that ancestors served some sort of function.

Although the theory behind the composition of the numerous paintings found in the caves of Altamira, Lascaux and Les Combarelles will never be known, there is little doubt that the clues are related to the fertility cults and the practice of sympathetic magic, two institutions which dominated the palaeolithic age. It should be also noted that this zoomorphic, animistic and totemic mode of consciousness was a deeply practical perception, inseparable from the social praxis of the day. Magic was the *modus operandi* and the "kind" of aesthetic experience which a tribal member had when he looked at a venus figure or a totem animal. This was eminently practical. The fashioning of these steatopygic figurines and apotropaeic tattoos assured procreation. After such "use" they may have been discarded, a common practice among many tribes today.[9]

The closeness of man with the animal is highly evident when one examines the shaman of the Altamira cave. Part rhinocerous, part reindeer, part antelope, he typifies Levi-Strauss' explication of totemism.[10] The symbol of the totem animal, as adopted by the tribe, provided a sense of identification between himself and other animals and between his tribe and others.[11] Cave art embodies this dominant ideology. The compositions, the treatment of space, the size relationship and balance present a consistent hunter consciousness. First, there is no middle axis. Symmetry and balance are not inspired by the structure of the human body, but are asymmetrical, inspired by the changing relationship of the herd. The animal is presented near at hand (some say dead),[12] and the hand and finger of the artist provided their measure.[13]

As for the organization of space, it must be perceived as if one were observing a herd. The herd is always wandering and palaeolithic man is always following. Space seems infinite. The sighting of a herd (crowded bodies) meant the possibility of procurement of food and then rest. Finite space and closed space were a positive value for him; infinite space a negative one. As one "progresses" historically, infinite and finite space take on different values, depending on the dominant ideology.

Despite a number of criticisms that not all art was based on sympathetic magic or fertility (these include the placement of figured drawings in inaccessible places; the lack of pictures of reindeer which were the staple food during the Magdalenian period; finally, the fact that only about 10 percent of all animals represented had spear marks)[14] a great deal of theorizing has resulted from hindsight interpretations based on indigenous cultures who have had contact with modernism, much like our examples have made evident. Regardless of how inventive the interpretations about cave art may be, one could argue from an extrapolation of C. Levi-Strauss' work that cave art represented "intellectual bricolage." The palaeolithic artist(s) shaman attempted to explain concepts which could not be solved day by day through the normal "bricoleur" bag of tools, hence a different ordering was required.[15]

Through man's labor, what were once hostile and dangerous elements soon were harnessed for his benefit. During the mesolithic period, the once ferocious animal was domesticated. The compositions of rock paintings[16] embody the beginnings of the distant gaze which was to lead to the horizon line in the neolithic period. Animals were presented stylistically. Some are depicted as "pets." Gone was the intimate knowledge of the herd. Depending on which region is examined, man had gained some independence from the hunt; early forms of horticulture had begun. All this was facilitated through the invention of the bow. If the fingers and palm were the measure of his art in the palaeolithic, the arm's length became the measure of the mesolithic.

The occasion for the revolution into the neolithic was the climatic crisis that ended the pleistocene epoch; the melting of the northern ice sheets converted the steppes and tundras of Europe into temperate forests and prairies.[17] Life became sedentary. For the neolithics, the limitation of the environment as presented by the horizon created a relation to a fixed plane. In a cultural age which is characterized by sacraments and transubstantiation, that is, fermentation of wheat and barley into liquor and beer, yeast into bread, wool and flax into cloth via the loom, clay becomes the expressive medium for the neolith. The transubstantiation of clay into fired pots via the kiln, provides the ideal vessel for storage of grain for future needs during boom periods. Impervious to moisture and sand, kiln hardened clay is the link between man's food source, the soil and his spiritual needs.

We can attempt to describe the aesthetics of the early neolith which were characterized by towns still at a subsistence economy (that is, no food or animals are found in the grave sites). Attempts may be made to understand the value of space in the mind of a cultivator. The making of a pot means building a shape within a sea of air. One relationship, that of the enclosed space to the outside space, provides us with a range of conceivable values. Air can penetrate into a vessel with varying input, density, tempo and varying depth. It can recoil or remain in suspension; the outer air may be separated from the vessel or it may be joined with it. Other relationships include height to width ratio, encompassment of the eye and base to ground relationship. A bright surface, for instance, reflects outside air, while its inside space remains closed. Dark colors absorb air, hence a dark colored vessel is more "open." Shapes also provide clues as to the ideological values of a given culture. We can hypothesize that to the mind of the early cultivator, who wished to conserve his grain, the air surrounding the pot was seen as hostile and dangerous. A rustic heavy form in the form of a cube was his first expression of such a relationship. This is evident in pre-historic Egyptian pots. Max Raphael[18] attempts to make explicit these changing aesthetic relationships in the ceramics of the lower and middle Nile Valley. Most important is his analysis between the different ideologies of the first culture (Fayum, Tasa), the second culture (Badarians), and the third culture (Gerzean, Amratian) and how their ideologies are manifested in the relations of various pots. These are presented below.

Unable to cope with arbitrary and unpredictable elemental forces of Nature, the early neolith (Fayum and Tasa) cultures adopted the "cult of the dead" - a bold attempt to enlist the aid of ancestors who were given a life after death to help influence the crops. Magic ideology of the hunter declined and the shaman was replaced by the "priest" who was in control of the cult. As man's horticultural efficiency increased, magic further dwindled. Efficiency also meant a surplus resulting in the earliest class divisions. With the appearance of a warrior élite, a prince who looked after the socio-economic problems began to exercise power along with the former priest. The cult of the dead changed form into its opposite. The dead were made helpless by burying the corpses away from the settlements. In some cases the bodies were dismembered and re-arranged.

Heavy pots intimately related to all concerns of practical life were early artifacts. Household vessels as well as burial vessels were treated with equal skill. These were a people, living in a village, city or town where ends were just met. No bracelets, rings, earrings, nor surplus of any kind are found in their graves. Probably the most significant occurrence was the division of art into the sacred and the profane. This occurrence was premised on the shift from gynolatry to phallolatry by copper wielding peoples who subjugated and enslaved the neolithic farmer.[19]

The separation of art into sacred and profane occurs with the Badarian culture. It is here that the priest and prince play a dual role. The first representation of human figures that are sculptures in the full sense occurs here. Artistic activity passed into the hands of two different classes. The tasks of sepulchral art and the sculpture of idols, as well as the execution of religious dances were entrusted to priests/princes who guided the artists. Profane art became craft and was probably performed by women who were given "gifts" to "cool them off" as they lost their status. The need for ostentation and ideology by a ruling class released a new creative freedom, but at the expense of the practical one which had combined the storing of food, cooking and providing the dead with everything they needed in their after life.

As one progresses towards written history the coarse pots made for the household by the farmer or slave became finer and finer; the reason being that the wealthy élite were demanding other art forms - notably stone pots and sculpture (the first step before monumentalism). This allowed the finer pots, characterized by a smaller base and more refined shape suppressing all marks of craft, to be secularized. Further imitations in clay or the more time-consuming stone pots had begun. This was the first evidence of class envy. The definition of "true art" began to be defined by an élite class, as was, of course, the image of the "true" man. Imitation as a craft was introduced, an activity whose modern day equivalent presents itself in the form of being able to purchase a "good copy" of an "original." This occurred within the Gerzean civiliation.

During the late neolithic, art became autotelic (Greek autos, "self" and telos, "end" or completion). Objects came to be fashioned with an attempt to provide a special kind of response: one, spiritual (early monumental sculpture based on the figure and large stone vessels requiring the use of expensive copper tools), the other, secular (expressed in crafts). This probably occurred within the Amratian civiliation.[20]

The Sumer civiliation, around the Tigris and Euphrates rivers of Mesopotamia, provides a good example of a Chalcolithic culture exhibiting the art of a warrior élite. Here, Sumerian priests still worship the cult of the goddess. They "employ" a whole host of specialist craftsmen in their temples. The Sumerian king as victor, smiting his enemies, is a favorite theme in the early Dynastic art.

It is here, also, that a form of geometry and arithmetic is invented to measure produce. Ishakku - the tenant farmer (of the god) achieves the sanctity of kinship and holder of the state[21] (the beginning of "landed" aristocracy). Significant to art is the invention of cuneiform writing, resulting at first in pictographic art and later in ideographs. However, the Sumerian culture is but a dwarf when compared to the surplus and art products of the dynasties and empires of the full Bronze Age. Egyptian dynastic wealth is evident in the Royal Tombs, crammed with jars of grain, fruits, liquors, stone vases, precious metal and gems. This supports the surmise that an extensive trade and expert and specialized craftsmen had been institutionalized.

In Egypt, hieroglyphic script had been invented and the head of state was not the tenant-farmer of a god as in Sumer, but was himself a god, made immortal by magic rites and guaranteeing his own magic for the fertility of the flocks and the crop.

The pharaoh had a whole itinerary of priests and clerks as members of his "household" who helped administer his empire. These viziers, in time, gained households of their own; clerks found livelihood in the households of nobles and other minor officials.

With the invention of writing, the gap between the theory and practice of the craftsman widened. The craftsman had now lost any spiritual will for his craft. As a slave or hireling, he fashioned the products for numerous priests, officials and of course, the pharaoh. Monumentalism, embodied by the pyramids, became the new measure of wealth and power, a good indicator that a small group no longer feared their enemies, nor the failure of the crops. Enough surplus had been accumulated to provide the tremendous amount of food to feed those who built his tombs. By this Pyramid Age, smiths, carpenters, jewellers, masons, boat-builders, potters, stone cutters permanently attached to the mortuary foundations and nobles' estates formed a class of chattel slaves. The pictographic arts which were a "feast for the eyes" during early tomb building soon became mundane. Market scenes painted on tombs of minor officials present the flow of trade during this late period. A pot was bartered for a fish, a bundle of onions for a fan, a wooden box for a jar of ointment, all indicating a wealth of artifacts for exchange.[22]

The sculptor followed certain rules which embodied the ethics of the pharaoh class. Panofsky[23] has termed this a "reconstruction" sculpture for it was based on immutable geometric canons. The Egyptian method of employing a theory of proportions reflects their religious convictions. Sculpture was directed towards the constant, the realization of a timeless eternity. The sculptor, therefore, was left with little freedom of expression. Coached by a priest or a governor, he had the advantage of becoming familiar with the religious ideology, but translated this insight through geometrical canons.

The Bronze Age had produced a landed aristocracy with a priest-king at its head; however, the organization of empires and dynasties meant increased trade. As the money economy spread, more and more craftsmen and artisans were needed. The rise of a middle class in the second millennium in Mesopotamia and Egypt, mainly merchants, professional soldiers, clerks and priests,[24] benefitted all.

George Thomson's, Aeschylus and Athens[25] describes how the epic poems "attributed" to Homer, the Iliad and the Odyssey, expressed the virtures of a warrior élite. The Iliad's counsel was "courage through endurance." Epic literature outlined the educational system of the hero. One-third of his instruction was cautionary. One was to be careful of unknown quantities (the warning associated with the Trojan Horse); one-third was to be admonitory. One was not to lose face. (In Japan, this heroic phase produced the Bushido and Samurai, with hara-kiri as a suicidal form should the "hero" lose face.) And the last was to achieve praise and prestige; the hero had to constantly reckon with gods whom he feared and believed.

The hero, at first, thirsted for the same sort of majesty that the priest-kings had achieved. Poetry became the expression of this age. The poet was the supreme "seer" of the epic period, though some of them were physically blind (e.g., Teiresias[26]). The poets had the highest social standing of all artists. The sculptor and painter could not spring from the nobility and belong to court society. They worked with their hands while the poet used his brain - an early manifestation of the separation of "hand" and "brain" which still exists today.

The homeric epic underwent a change, facilitated by the increase of a moneyed middle class who began to challenge the princes. This change is expressed by Hesiod, a poet who lives under the Dorian "iron-bearing kings," who laments for the previous "Age of Gold" which was his expression for a time when the landed aristocracy enjoyed simple and direct social relations based on exploitation.

When this paternalistic outlook between slave and lord began to crumble, the poets, Pindar and Simondies became moral teachers and gave advice and warnings to this new hereditary class.[27] The former ethics of nobility as expressed in the arts (the concept of arete with its dominant traits of physical fitness and military discipline, built on tradition, birth and race, kalokagathia, the ideal of the right balance between bodily and spiritual, physical and moral qualities and of sophrosyne - the ideal of self-restraint, discipline and moderation)[28] came under scrutiny. The middle merchant class pushed for new laws and a new naturalistic outlook, which George Novac[29] has argued, led to a materialistic philosophy. At the same time, a new cast of mythological gods appears to replace the former Egyptian ones; however, their scale and magnanimity is reduced. They are still gods (supermen) but take on a human model - a considerable reduction from Egyptian sun gods.

Cheap tools, the alphabet and coined money were the three important achievements of the Iron Age.[30] As the gap closed between wealthy merchants and rich hereditary landowners, the struggle for state control and new laws heightened during the seventh and sixth century B.C. The result - tyranny. Tyranny meant the dictatorship of a merchant-prince who seized the state power to support the merchant class. He banished the landed nobles, divided their estates amongst the peasantry, initiated big schemes of urban reconstruction and did everything possible to encourage trade. This encouraged cultural growth. The craftsmen especially benefitted. When commissioned to execute statues of athletes, warriors or deceased relatives, there no longer had to be a pretense to divinity. Their scale was reduced and a naturalism introduced, though it must be added that this is an idealistic naturalism.[31]

The beginnings of economic competition meant a new trend towards an increased subjectivism. The epic became more lyrical. The poet became recognized as the author of his poems. The idea of intellectual private property became established. About 700 B.C. the first signed works of visual arts appeared. A ceramic factory with specialized labor (thrower, painters, furnace man and owner)[32] became established. The firm of Hischylos produced works of three different painters who signed their own products. The aristocracy participated in commercial and industrial centers, sharing their power with a new plutocracy/oligarchy which was to lead to the "democracy" of classical Greece.

Athens provides a lucid example of the "commotion" of this age. There, an atomistic materialism as presented by Democritus could not find favor.[33] All spiritual leaders (poet philosophers) of the fourth and fifth centuries B.C. with the exception of the Sophists, such as Euripides and Gorgias, supported the aristocracy. This aristocracy, all wealthy slave owners and landlords, in turn, supported the philosophic ideologues. Labor saving devices and craftsmenship were seen as degrading (banausic) and servile.

Plato's aesthetic supports this aristocratic view. He rejects the painter from his Republic. By furnishing a theory of Ideals, the privileged have arguments against the realism and relativism of the Sophists. His aesthetic theories are tailor-made for the form of tragedy which was the creation of Athenian democracy. Tragedy unquestionably propagated the tradition of the "great" kind-hearted individual, the uncommon distinguished man, the embodiment of the ideal of kalokagathia.

In his Republic, Plato divided the arts into serving three functions.[34] In the order of hierarchy, art should have moral utility (mould character and form the ideal state); it should follow the laws governing the world, penetrate the divine plan of the cosmos and shape things in accordance with it (truthfulness and rightness - mimesis); finally, it should have beauty, which was defined broadly as that which induced delight. This famous triad, "truth, goodness and beauty," cast in idealist terms, provided the aristocratic ideology.

Plato adopted the Pythagorean concept of beauty, the essence of which lay in order, measure and proportion expressed as a numerical property.[35] Mimesis, as imitation of reality as an ideal form was the virtue of the highest order, the furthest removed from necessity. To be human was to participate in the political life of the day; to be divine was to philosophize. The art forms of classical Greece were ideological productions of the aristocratic aesthetic.

Competing with these aristocratic ideals were the atomists and the Sophists. Democritus' notion of mimesis was very different. It was grounded in Nature, in "realism" as it were. His belief that joy is derived from beautiful artworks held high value in his system. His view of creation was founded upon mechanical forces, not guided by divine inspiration or supernatural forces. Although poetry required supranormal effort and inspiration, it could be viewed as a natural process and hence an achievement of natural abilities. Nature was their model, pleasure their aim. This shift towards Nature expressed the views of the middle class who, as navigators and tradesmen, required an empiricist ideology. The Sophists even went further, arguing that beauty was relative.[36]

Art premised more on the middle class view, developed from the fifth century B.C. on. Rather than presenting an "ideal" perspective wherein the figure was presented from a frontal view, a three quarter view and forshortening appeared. The attempt is to view the figure from a relative perspective. The athlete is presented more as a dancer than a "superman." Such art was truly anthropometric, based on Polyclitus' canon. With the rise of the middle class, sculpture also separated from architecture. Private orders meant smaller and movable sizes. Fourth century Athens did not build a single temple.[37]

Art remained more or less unchanged while the Romans conquered the world and founded their own empire on the ruins of Hellenistic kingdoms.[38] In the Greek cities, the principal beneficiaries of Alexander's conquests had been the bourgeoisie: landowners who had slaves to till their soil, tenant farmers who employed hired hands, owners of workshops, ships or warehouses, and money-lenders and slave-hirers. The Romans preserved this state of affairs; significantly, their major contribution to art was in the area of civil engineering. Roads, triumphal arches aqueducts, public baths, amphitheatre represent the "world" of a Roman Imperial Art. As conquerors, the need to cluster the gods under one roof led them to the construction of the arch and the Pantheon and the vaulted roof as well as arches of triumph. The Roman generals, wishing to propagandize their victories, brought into being a literalization of the battle through pictures. This same serialization of a story was to serve Christianity in much the same way.

The development of Western Christianity, which was to change the meaning of art and develop new aesthetic ideologies, can best be understood by dividing the period of the Middle Ages into three: the early period, developing within the context of the Roman Empire; a middle period which ends the Romanesque style and begins the early Gothic; and finally, the late Gothic, which brings the Iron Age to an end.

Within the declining Roman and Persian empires there rose a class of sages or prophets who were the inheritors of the Poets. They predicted the decline of the empires and expressed the idea of humanity as a single society (oekumenal). This was their utopian vision.[39] All members of any society were accepted under a common moral obligation which was essentially an ideological counterpart of the international economy based on the interchange of commodities between all parts.

Early Christian art demanded the exhibition of spiritualistic values, in contrast to the Hellenistic style that the Romans had continued. The demand was for flat, bodiless, shadow forms and frontality, which best exhibited the qualities of solemnity and aestheticism. The Neo Platonist aesthetics of Plotinus[40] provided the aesthetic ideology. Like Plato, he contrasted two worlds: "this" world of imperfect material and the spiritual world, independent of the senses, reached only by thought. Beauty, he argued, was transcendental and a quality, not a measure (a relationship of parts). Its source was the soul. Symmetria (measure) was thus given a new treatment. Plotinus drew the concept from the Pythagoreans, as had the Old Testament (The Book of Wisdom and Genesis said that God had arranged everything according to measure, number and weight), but measure now illuminated beauty and beauty was God. The first task of all art then, was to be a moral endeavour (which was retained from the Greeks), to promote the beauty of God. Plato's Absolute Form was not translated as God.

Plotinus' views regarding paintings state that matter was mass and darkness, while spirit was light. Painting had to avoid depth and shadows and only represent luminous things. Consequently, the backgrounds of early Christian paintings appeared in clear detail. Each object was represented in uniform light without shadows. Objects were suspended in air, losing their mass and weight; ideal forms were replaced by schematic forms, and organic forms by geometric forms. By stressing light as symbolic of the highest existence, Plotinus paved the way for a new division in theory; i.e., he differentiated contemplative and intuitive theory.[41]

The first type of theory meant predictive and discursive knowledge. The second did not need to articulate itself into demonstrations and propositions since it depended upon immediate contact and union with its object (light). The philosopher was replaced by the sage. The contemplative life was no longer only in the hands of a nobility, as in the Greek context, but became open to anyone who could follow the "walk of perfection" as St. Augustine expressed it.

This walk meant a balance between one's contemplative life, a striving for God, and one's actions of charity. Status and knowledge were made possible once one grasped the meanings behind Christian symbolism, and as the Church drew power through converts of high status (Constantine was the first emperior to embrace Christianity), the visual arts became progressively utilized for didactic purposes. The saintly life was taught to the congregations, increasing their understanding of the new ideology.

The transition towards this more didactic approach, towards making the visual arts the supreme art form of the middle period of Christianity, was promoted by the struggle between Church and feudal monarchs. As the caesarpope[42] was of course, the highest model on earth, Byzantine art fell into line. Frontality, which had been the vogue of Classical Greek nobles, was adopted. Christ was presented as a King and Mary as a Queen, wearing royal robes, usually sitting reserved, expressionless and forbidding on thrones, reminiscent of court or wedding ceremonies. The use of three concentric circles to delineate proportion became standardized.[43] Such pageantry values, with clear outlines and no shading, typified this period. Pleasure was found in precious stones, bright colors and gilding. Byzantine Churches were richly ornate. Their dome, a symbol of the sky, had four arches representing the four corners of the world, all in keeping with Pseudo-Dionysian aesthetics. Mosaics, vaults, liturgical ornaments, and vestments were all extremely ornate, a material splendour which was to put across through aesthetic experience the mystical ideas which enabled one to reach God. To view early Christian paintings is to literally project yourself into the picture plane. The object revealed only its permanent features, in keeping with Plotinus' dictum that imperfection (fading of color, deformations and alterations in the appearance of things) should be avoided. Size was presented according to spiritual significance of the objects portrayed, so that, in reverse perspective, the principal figures were painted larger, the further away they were from the on-looker.[44]

Icons were essentially the first step towards greater and greater naturalism and an increased understanding of Christian ideology by the laity. Iconographic symbolism (a kind of hieroglyphic script) was also a way to depict concepts of God rather than Nature and to avoid the vanity of beauty. As this didactic function increased, the laity demanded artworks which they could readily understand. The Byzantine Emperor and the high clergy were however against this iconclastic movement. The truth of the matter was that they feared losing power to the monasteries, which were expanding and thriving on the generosity of the lay people. The cult of the saints and the power of the icons increased the social mobility of the masses, permitting some of the peasant children to enter into these theological institutes. By forbidding the worship of images, the Emperor and high clergy hoped to deprive these monasteries of their most effective means of propaganda. This clash between the iconoclasts and the iconophiles continued with the iconoclasts moving towards an increased naturalism, while the iconophiles derived a mystical aesthetics which acknowledged the existence of symbols, spirits and timeless ultimate form. East (Greek Fathers) and West split.

This period of early Western aesthetics culminated with St. Augustine[45] (354-430 A.D.) His main contribution to aesthetics was to introduce a psychological theory which concentrated on aesthetic experience, presumably in keeping with what the laity should experience through prayer and concentration. This stress on the perceiver was predicated on the idea that this experience was possible by all men because each had an innate sense of rhythm (i.e, rhythm of sound, perception, memory and mind). This is but a short step to the notion of "visions."[46] The division between divine beauty and physical beauty was maintained.

Up until the eleventh century, the Romanesque style reflected the covenant between the clergy and aristocracy: the secular nobility. Churches were indeed "fortresses of God." They were large, solid, massive, resembling strongholds and castles. Symbols of power, their interiors were too small for a large congregation. The Romanesque Church only wished that its spirituality be experienced exteriorally. Interiors were visually unattractive. Christ stands, rather than hangs on the cross. The madonna is portrayed as exalted above all human cares. Love and sorrow are foreign temperaments to her.[47] This period (4 A.D. - 11 A.D.) had been characterized by the increase in the ranks of the class of nobles. The little fellow with a small estate became knighted like his overlord. In time this group also became part of the hereditary ruling class. Noble manners of life and ethics were codified in chivalric epics and lyrics. They became the Knights of Christ under the leadership of the Church. Along with this noblesse oblige, the chivalric code was shaped by an ethics of physical strength and training to obtain the knightly virtues. Force of character, moderation and self-control formed the basic values. Contempt for danger, pain, death, unqualified loyalty, the quest of fame and honor and respect towards women, formed their ethics. Women were the source of aesthetic and moral education (i.e., boys were raised by women until the age of fourteen). Women were revered by troubadours and minnesingers who interpreted liege-loyalty as love and love as liege-loyalty. But a change begins to occur about the eleventh century which was to establish the golden age of Church architecture. Victorines, Cistercians and Chartrean aesthetics represent the "commotion" around this time. They mark the victory of the Church as supreme law interpreter. More importantly though, this new era ushers in a rising middle class whose ethics are in contradiction both to the chivalric code and Christian ethics.

Victorine aesthetics[48] (specifically Hugh - 1096-1141) introduced a dualism into Gothic aesthetic theory which was to eventually find its way to St. Thomas Aquinas. Significantly, Hugh had a new notion of theory and practice, introducing the stress on action, an Aristotelian concept which had been abandoned. Visual art, which had always been considered a mechanical art, was equated with liberal arts. Theatrica, for instance, was to provide for organized entertainment, unprecedented in medieval aesthetics. Of the three ideologies this was the most "naturalistic."

The Cistercian order (notably that of St. Bernard) retained the dualism between spiritual beauty and physical beauty. Their strong emphasis on spiritual beauty and their dislike of ornate, rich, luxurious display, led to an architecture which was to embody a severe, simple, regular form - "Cistercian." Of the three ideologies, this one retained the spiritual aesthetics of Neo-Platonism. Lastly, the School at Chartres interpreted the Platonic idea as a mathematical aesthetics where only proportions were beautiful. God was an artist-architect, creator of the world who worked according to fixed rules. This aesthetic ideology lay behind the first classical Gothic building erected at Chartres.

The "waning of the Middle Ages"[49] continued the dominant Gothic aesthetic. However, scholastic aesthetics developed by the Franciscan and Dominican orders in the second quarter of the thirteenth century were to become the competing ideologies with the aesthetics of St. Thomas Aquinas, a Dominican, providing the foundation for the High Gothic.

The "problem" of the Gothic period was the relationship between transcendental ideas and "the world as such; between natural and supernatural law; or between the absolute spiritual principle of a transcendental determination of life and everything else which nature, life itself and the historical development of earthly goods and preconceptions offered as opposing determinants."[50] The introduction of a subjective factor added a psychological dimension. The dualistic definition of beauty, physical and spiritual, external and internal, sensuous and intellectual, was compromised by the introduction of an objective view of "form" and "relationship." This was largely St. Thomas' achievement, in his attempts to provide a more empirical concept of beauty: a return to Aristotle, to a more empirical view of space. Aristotle's theory of space was identified with place (topos) and defined as the adjacent boundary of the containing body. This meant a shfft towards "naturalism." In St. Thomas' aesthetics, beauty is placed on a new foundation. Clarity, which meant the need to illuminate things for "spiritual" insight, was coupled with integritas. Integrity meant a combination of spiritual and physical aspects of reality. So, although the idealistic spiritual world is still fundamental, nature begins to be its model. This was assured by St. Thomas Aquinas' final criterion - consonantia - "spiritual beauty" founded on earthly beauty.

The orientation towards a new understanding of space is evident in the Gothic cathedrals. A Neo-Platonic aesthetic had claimed that the artwork had to be truer than nature. Figures were sculpted so that all details in the foreground had no immediate connection to liturgical meaning. Romanesque walls merely provided the background for the numerous statues. All this was now transcended. The verticalism and proportions of the figures and forms seem to defy gravity, yet they were represented in real space. The background, and the framework of representation were used to emphasize free spatiality of the figures and to insert a spatial stratum between them and the background. Figures had a consciousness of their own; not all had their eyes raised to heaven; many were engaged in psychic dialogue amongst themselves. Expressions of joy and sorrow through body gestures permitted the works to be read much like a story book. Passion plays were presented through "continuous representation" of pictures. Gothic walls were no longer mere background for figurines. The wall "disappeared" in the attempt to make the sculpture part of the inside.

Gothic architecture overcame the earth-bound stability of Romanesque architecture. Cathedrals were unified organic wholes, vertically towering above the cities.

The ingenious exemplar of Gothic aesthetics was the stained glass window. Light shining through the figures circumscribed the interior area of the church and hence established an immediate connection with infinite space. The prevailing spirit of moderate nominalism did not "deny the reality of ideas but regarded them as inseparable from the things of sense experience..."[51] The stained glass window was the perfect solution to the contradiction embodied in the dualism of beauty, best expressed by St. Thomas' scholasticism.

As the Church grew in power, the dualism of the Gothic period presented a contradiction which was to find expression among the rising middle class of the Industrial Age. Dante's Comedy mirrored this contradiction. The ideal order of a universe expressing God's unchanging will and the changing existence of each human being striving to master his passions are caught in a purgatory between Dante's eternal system of Heaven and Hell.[52] As the ranks of nobility became a closed group and the Church became the only way to achieve social status and mobility, the merchant and small business groups arose and entered into ideological combat with these two groups. Their ethical code was in contradiction to both the chivalric and Church ethics. Generosity, relative indifference to changes of profit, fair play, decency at all costs suited a ruling nobility guided by Christian ethics founded on the accomplishments of classical antiquity (Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, Stoics, Roman Law). This of course, did not suit the new emerging class. A more realistic aesthetic ideology was required.[53] Already, Villard de Honnecourt, around 1235, was attempting to articulate this new naturalism by laying down a system of proportions based on an attempt to measure the structure of the body. Admittedly, compared to the achievements of Dürer and Leonardo, his geometric schematizations are crude; nevertheless, his attempt marks a return to naturalism.[54]

Lastly, one should recall that many vagans roamed about. These clerics or scholars who had abandoned their studies, sang and recited doctrines in contradiction to the powerful established Church: Sophists of a different sort.[55]

Summary

The humanization of Nature was concurrent with the humanization of man's own nature; this dialectical process was evident in the production of technology and the growth of his aesthetic consciousness, his artistic products being a part of this record. Since the Chalcolithic period, his social relationships have been characterized by a class struggle. Artistic theory was until the medieval period, in the hands of a small elite; those making history. It is the values of that progressive class which were interpreted through artworks. The status of the craftsman became a subordinate one; the artist became the translator of the progressive ideology.

In each socio-historic period a particular aesthetic was concretized. Space and time were perceived differently. Each period also had a dominant art form which best embodied the meaning of man's practical needs. Technical inventions added a considerable dimension as to what material best exemplified these dominant values, since the humanized materials were themselves given meaning and symbolization. In any socio-historical mode there is a "commotion" of competing aesthetic values. These represent new values, generated by new class interests coming to power and "survival values" from previous periods which are "totalized" and hence continue to be maintained by classes denied access to current or impending aesthetic values. The phenomenon of aesthetic experience is evident from the works of earliest man through to the writings of monks.

As each class rose to power, however, former sacred art became secularized and diffused. The manual arts, for instance, after the neolithic period, lost all prominence as spiritual symbolism. They became autotelic. Following the late neolithic period, mechanical arts were separated from the liberal arts. Theory became more important than practice.

Art education also changed in each socio-historical period. What was considered artistic knowledge depended on one's artistic status in a stratified society. Access to higher forms was often disallowed.

It should be noted that there are periods of transition. A new aesthetic sensibility does not replace the old immediately; rather, elements from the old and elements of the new fuse into a unique form. Thus the animal forms from the palaeolithic period underwent a different treatment in each socio-historical mode; that is, from symbols of sympathetic magic, to symbols of domestication and hierarchy; from symbols of the hunt to a characterization in the alphabet to an iconography in Christian theology. Each new aesthetic sensibility represents a step potentially resulting in the greater freedom of the species.

Footnotes - Chapter Three

[1] John A. Stoops, "The Human Worth of Aesthetic Play," in Philosophers Speak of Aesthetic Experience in Education, ed. Robert L. Leight (Danville, Illinois: The Interstate Printers and Publishers, Inc., 1975), pp. 17-32.

[2] R. J. Andrew, "The Origins of Facial Expressions," Scientific American 213 (October 1965):88-94; and "The Situations that Evoke Vocalization in Primates," Annals of the New York Academy of Science 102, 1963, pp. 296-315; and "The Displays of the Primates," in Evolutionary and Genetic Biology of the Primates, ed. J. Buettner-Janusch (New York: Academic Press, 1963), pp. 227-309; and T. Hall, The Hidden Dimension (New York: Doubleday and Co. Inc., 1969); and Beyond Culture (New York: Anchor Press, 1976). The study of kinesics and proxemics offers a fruitful direction. The pioneering work of R. J. Andrew has demonstrated that there are certain analogies between primate emotional expressions like ear-flattening, tail heights and very primitive human facial expressions and bodily movements (kinesic reactions). The adaptive functions of certain kinesic movements and proxemic distances were originally reflex responses to stimuli. Through the process of selection, coupled with bodily choreography, evolved exaggerated displays which had communicative value. Such gestures and expressions came to stand for such uncomplicated feelings or emotional states as pain, leisure, delight, fear, surprise, sadness. Studies dealing with the status of the origin of symbolic gestures suggests that in the early stages of hominid evolution, two modes of communication conveying "intention" or "emotion" could be differentiated: kinesic reactions which included primary bodily and facial movements, expressions and gestures and primitive vocalization. For these developments see R. A. Hinde and T. E. Rowell, "Communication by Postures and Facial Expressions in the Rhesus Monkey," Proceedings of the Zoological Society 138, pp. 1-21; and Desmond Morris et al. Gestures, Their Origins and Distribution (London: Jonathan Cape, 1979), wherein the distinction is made between symbolic gestures, which are abstract signs requiring the acceptance of a local convention and mimetic gestures, the more primitive gestures which imitate manually certain specific objects or action.

[3] Different primate forms penetrated zones of habitation of a savanna type which had previously been outside the range of the tropically adapted species which had made up the primate order at this time. This period of "adaptive radiation" led many primates to occupy different ecological niches. The hominoid type emerged from an aromorphosic process to an allomorphosic one.

[4] David Pilbeam, The Evolution of Man (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1970), pg. 97. A number of tool traditions are in evidence. Coukontienian chopper tools and Acheulian core-beface tools, to name but two, could be duplicated which suggests that the idea of a 3-d form was grasped (icon).

[5] It is important to note the apparent difficulty in reconstructing the communicative ethogram. First, behavioral elements cannot be treated independently of the social and physical contexts in which they occurred. See E. H. Hess, "Ethology: An Approach Toward the Complete Analysis of Behavior," in New Directions in Psychology, ed. R. Brown (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1962), pp. 157-266. Secondly, the communication needs to be species-specific because a particular expression in one species may not be phylogenetically homologous with a similar expression in a second related species. See A. R. Diebold, Jr., "The Role of Binaural Hearing and Sound Localization in Primate Communication," in The Origin of Man, ed. Paul L. De Vore (The Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, Inc., 1965), pp. 84-85. These problems are so acute that the coding behavior of bees, which was throught to be known, is now completely out of date because of the very recent discoveries of the acoustic behavior of bees. See T. Sebeok, "Animal Communication," UNESCO International Social Science Journal 19, 1967, pp. 88-95. There are, according to Sebeok, over one million species which are known, give or take ten thousand, but the coding behavior of not one single animal is fully understood. Regarding human communication, both primitive vocalization and kinesic expressions originate from this affective base and present quite an efficient acclimation of a system of expressed emotion through gestures and strepitious vocalization in the pre-hominoid species (Dryopithecines, Ramapithecines, Ngororapithecines, Australopithecines). However, as Leakey has made evident, the genus Homo Habilis developed a more economic system which was to allow him to eventually make reference to his environment, to his past and future. This was the eventual development of symbolism and language which was to extend his cognitive and affective powers, satisfying the increasing needs for intersubjective communication and social organization which through the dialectic of his labor power, began to dominate Nature and chnage it into culture.

[6] Prior to the appearance of this first real archeological evidence, we may hypothesize that the Australopithecines were a necessary pre-condition for this development. They had acquired two manlike traits - stance and tool making and at least some degree of differentiation from the crudest forms of aggression and competition (Dobzhansky). Probably at first, Australopithecines walked upright only part of the time, however, once a bepedal locomotion became a permanent form, the hands were freed from their locomotor function to develop abilities such as the use and manipulation of tools. We shall assume that because of this upright stance, a sense of balance and rhythm were strengthened. The making of prechellean tools suggests that Australopithecines could distinguish between hard rocks

such as quartzite and flint. Bunak (1965) calls this early stage the development of "primordial notions," in speech. Next, Homo Erectus, because he started cooking, already had fashioned an elaborate symbolic system. One can imagine elaborate dances around the fires as well as ceremonies and the status attached to the "holder of the fire." Bunak (1965) claims that "firm notions of first early speech" developed at this time. With an increase in brain size (770-1000 ml.) and the increase in territory the Pithecanthropines must have had knowledge of flora, fauna and understood animal cycles. See, S. L. Washburn and P. C. Jay, Perspectives on Human Evolution (New York: Hold, Rinehart and Winston, 1968), for this development. Furthermore, the above reconstruction seems plausible due to the large area Pithecanthropines inhabited. Sites have been found in China, Trinil, Java, Olduvai, etc. Since no sea fossils were found, he was probably limited to boundaries made by rivers, lakes, etc. See, J. A. Young, An Introduction to the Study of Man (Oxford: Claredon Press, 1971).

[7] A Leroi-Gourhan, The Art of Prehistoric Man in Western Europe (London: Thames and Hudson, 1968).

[8] In a cave at Uzbekistan a child's grave was surrounded by a ring of ibex horns. Other sites showed mounds and rings of stone placed in symmetrical fashion around the skulls. See G. H. Luquet, The Art and Religion of Fossil Man (London: Yale University Press, 1930), pp. 153-157.

[9] Adrian A. Gerbrands, "Art as an Element of Culture in Africa," in Anthropology and Art, ed. Charlotte M. Otten (New York: The Natural History Press, 1971), pp. 366-382. A tribal member looked at his totemic animal as a source of identification. A practical "aesthetic-magical" consciousness is part of the hunter mentality. In L. Van Der Post, The Heart of the Hunter (New York: William Morrow and Co., 1961) Van Der Post describes his contacts with South African Bushmen. In his attempt to shoot a steen buck to provide food for some starving Bushmen, he unvortunately missed every shot - yet he had been an accomplished marksman. Surprisingly, the Bushmen reacted with laughter. They knew that the steen buck was protected by magic. In Donald W. Moncrieff, "Aesthetics and the African Bushman," in Duquesne Studies in Phenomenological Psychology, Vol. 2, ed. Giorgi et al. (pittsburgh: Duquesne Univeristy Press, 1975), a description of the aesthetic experience of a bushman seeing his totem animal is given.

> "...the magic of the steen buck was that of the innocent, the gentle and the beautiful combined in one. It was a creature - or a person, as he called it - too beautiful to be aware of imperfection, too innocent to know fear, too gentle to suspect violence... The steen buck he said would stand there all the time 'looking so nicely and acting so prettily' that the person who had come hunting it would begin to feel 'he must look nicely at the steen buck and act prettily too'. The person who stood watching

> would suddenly find there was 'a steen buck person behind him...when the person who had come to kill the steen buck fitted the arrow to his bow and aimed to shoot, the steen buck person behind him 'pulled at his arm and made him miss'." (pg. 229)

The gentle and innocent beauty of the animal entered the openness of the perceiver and a transformation occurred. The spirit of the animal became the spirit of the hunter, hence there was no longer any hunter, but a man too deeply gentle to kill.

It must be kept in mind that in no way does this example and others provide us with the palaeolithic aesthetic consciousness. They merely provide a "sense of how the hunter may have reacted to the animal world. There are fundamental differences between primitive people and palaeolithic man. Equating these two heterogeneous groups has resulted in such absurdities as claiming that childrens'art is merely "primitive art" which has not yet matured. This kind of implication is drawn by Douglas Mazonowicz, Voices from the Stone Age (New York: Thomas Crowell Co., 1974).

[10] C. Levi-Strauss, Totemism (Boston: Beacon Press, 1962).

[11] Mimesis, as magico-aesthetic experience, is also in evidence for the understanding of Atoni symbolic categorizations. The Atoni, of Indonesian Timor build a house which is virtually a model of their cosmos. Following the heritage and tradition of their elders, patterns for construction follow the exact rules which explain symbolically their world-view. See Clark E. Cunningham, "Order in the Atoni House," in Reader in Comparative Religion: An Anthropological Approach, ed. William A. Lessa and Evon Z. Vogt (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1972), pp. 116-135. Scarification amongst the Tiv (a pagan tribe of the Benue Valley in Nigeria) provide a further example. Coloring their skin, dressing up, chipping teeth and incising their skin, appear on the surface, as non-functional and purely decorative. However, a deeper questioning of informants provides such motives as status and protection by a tetem animal; for example, swallows were signs of agility and freedom and fertility. See Paul Bohannon, "Beauty and Scarification Amongst the Tive," Man 129, 1956, pp. 117-121. In Papua, New Guinea, where the tribal organization revolves around the big-men, there is a marked difference between what is considered as useful and magical art objects. The interior tribes, for example, value cowrie shells because they resemble the vulva and therefore confer fertility. Coastal tribes desire animal teeth. See Paula G. Rubel and Abraham Rosman, "Big Man Structure and Exchange Systems in New Guinea," Social Science Information 16(1), pp. 117-127.

[12] H. Breuil, Forty Thousand Years of Rock Art: The Art of the Stone Age (London: Methuen, 1961).

[13] Max Raphael, Prehistoric Cave Paintings (New York: Marchbanks Press, 1945). This book is an exception for its insights. Raphael argues that the golden section which has plagued so many current aesthetic positivists was simply the relations of the spreading of fingers; i.e., either into 2:3 or 3:5 proportion. He further informs us on page 28,

> "If the normal male hand of palaeolithic man had the proportion 3:2 between length and width, that is to say, if 2 hand-lengths were equal to 3 hand-widths, this explains not only why the total width and total height of the animals are in this proportion but also why proportion 3:4 appears relatively frequently."

and,

> "The difference in size between the two animals is equal to their distance from each other; in other words, if they were of equal size, they would touch each other." (pg. 26)

The naturalistic cave paintings were an attempt to explain tribal cosmology through signs and figures. Recently there is evidence that the meanings of previously unknown signs do in fact represent movements of the moon. See Henry de Lumley, "A Palaeolithic Camp at Nice," Scientific American 220 (May 1969)P42-50. This is a likely hypothesis since as George Thomson had pointed out, the moon is a mystical symbol of everlasting life; the one seemingly eternal phenomenon in their environment. See, George Thomson, Marxism and Poetry (London: Lawrence and Wishart Ltd., 1975), pg. 13.

[14] P. J. Ucko and Andrée Rosenfeld, Palaeolithic Cave Art (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1974), pp. 180ff.

[15] In summary, to assume that body painting, wearing shells and bead necklaces, etc., are merely, purely decorative acts does not seem tenable. A hunter's mode of production with little or no surplus, his consciousness shaped by an ideology, engenders a practical aesthetic of magic and fertility. See Gordon Childe, What Happened in History (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England: Penguin Books Inc., 1972), who states:

> "All upper palaeolithic peoples [i.e., Graveitians and Magdalenians of France] tried to increase their beauty and enhance their personalities by mutilating their bodies or decking them with ornaments. In Africa a tooth was knocked out - at the behest of fashion, no doubt, but also as a ritual act. Everywhere shells or animals' teeth were collected, pierced and strung together to serve as necklaces. But they were not only personal ornaments but also charms. (pg. 50)

[16] Raoul-Jean Moulin, Prehistoric Painting (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1965).

[17] Gordon Childe, What Happened in History.

[18] Max Raphael, Prehistoric Pottery and Civilization in Egypt (Bollingen Series VIII, Pantheon Books, 1945).

[19] Merlin Stone, The Paradise Papers, The Suppression of Women's Rites (London: Virago, 1976). This was the time of revolts and counter-revolts. Elijah, Hosea, Hezekiak, Jehoshaphat, all purged tribes who worshipped female dieties. It was not until the fertility temples were destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar that fertility rites stopped.

[20] We are essentially dealing with the transition between neolithic and chalcolithic cultures. As surplus increases, some pots show bulges - exaggerated curves, something which would have never occurred during early neolithic. Seals to mark quantity of wealth were introduced.

[21] Gordon Childe, What Happened in History, pp. 97-103.

[22] Ibid., pg. 130.

[23] Erwin Panofsky, Meaning in the Visual Arts (New York: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1955), pg. 60.

[24] Gordon Childe, What Happened in History, pg. 124. This middle class had gained some leverage. Hammurabi's laws in Babylon had already dealt with the exchange of goods. It is essentially with what has been termed the "Age of Heroes" that this middle class is given a boost in ascendency. Warrior conquerors such as the Semitic Kings of Mesopotamia (e.g., Sargon and his sons Rimush and Manishtusu) built monumental buildings as outward symbols of the establishment of a new urban economy.

[25] George Thomson, Aeschylus and Athens: A study in the Social Origins of Drama (London: Lawrence and Wishart Ltd., 1941).

[26] Gerald Heard, Five Ages of Man (New York: Julian Press, 1963). The poet was their artistic ideologue. He was a prophet. For the ancient Greeks the connection between prophecy (mantike) and madness (mania) was apparent in the words themselves. In their courts recitation of these epics propagandized their heroid deeds. Declaimed at religious festivals by the Homeridai (sons of Homer) they were addressed to the masses when inequalities had not produced a cultural cleavage between the hut and the castle. See George Thomson, Marxism

and Poetry (London: Lawrence and Wishart Ltd., 1975), and Rhys Carpenter, The Esthetic Basis of Greek Art (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1974).

[27] Gerald Heard, Five Ages of Man. Heard claims that so great was the stress during these periods, that the Illiad and Odyssey reveal that this ruling nobility took intoxicants and drugs to cure melancholia. He notes that nepenthe, soma and moly were used. It is also estimated that the Age of Heroes lasted no longer than half a dozen generations.

[28] Arnold Hauser, The Social History of Art, Vol. 1 (New York: Alfred A. Knopf Inc., 1951), pg. 207.

[29] George Novac, The Origins of Materialism (New York: Pathfinder Press, Inc., 1965).

[30] Gordon Childe, What Happened in History, pg. 193. Money began to be coined by Croesus in Lydia, a frontier kingdom on a trade route.

[31] Arnold Hauser, The Social History of Art, Vol. 1, pg. 68. The archaic style, Ionian Korai and Early Doric, was simpler, less "propagandistic." The aristocratic ideal of bodily and spiritual beauty was exhibited by the statues of Apollo and young nobles who had won victory in the Olympic Games.

[32] Gordon Childe, What Happened in History, pg. 208.

[33] Kas Mazurek, Athens and Atomism: A Social History (Unpublished Masters Thesis, University of Alberta, 1976).

[34] W. Tatarkiewicz, History of Aesthetics, Vol. 1, Ancient Aesthetics, ed. D. Petsch (Warszawa: Polish Scientific Publishers, 1974), pp. 113ff. For an opposing view see, Whitney J. Oates, Plato's View of Art (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1972). For an informative study on Plato and his view of art see, Iris Murdoch, The Fire and the Sun: Why Plato Banished the Artists (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977).

[35] Vases were made in the ratios $\sqrt{2}$, $\sqrt{5}$. Some were square. Space was treated anisotropically and stereometrically. These objective mathematical kanons of beauty were applied to Greek sculpture, architecture and music. Anisotropic means having a pre-determined axis or axes, while stereometry means the measure of volumes. See, Max Jammer, Concepts of Space: The History of Theories of Space in Physics (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1954), pg. 23.

[36] The Sophists presented the antinomies of the age. They raised the question of content versus form and morals versus function, thus presenting the antithesis between the landed nobility and the merchant seafarers. In Dialexeis, it was argued that tattooing in Thrace was regarded as an ornament; but in other countries it was a punishment for convicts. See W. Tatarkiewicz, History of Aesthetics, Vol. 1, pg. 99.

[37] Erwin Panofsky, Meaning in the Visual Arts, pg. 64, and Arnold Hauser, The Social History of Art, Vol. 1, pg. 100.

[38] E. H. Gombrich, The Story of Art (New York: Phaidon Publishers, 1950), pg. 79.

[39] Karl Mannheim, Ideology and Utopia (New York: Harcourt Brace and World, Inc., 1936). Herein lay, therefore, the beginnings of all the great world religions. In China, Lao-tse founded Taoism and Confucius founded Confucianism; in India, Gautama the Buddha founded Buddhism; Zarathusthra (Zoroaster) unified Iran; Hebrew prophets, Amos, Hosea, Isaiah preached the one God, Yahveh.

[40] W. Tatarkiewicz, History of Aesthetics, Vol. 2 (Warszawa: Polish Scientific Publishers, 1974), pg. 318. It should be noted that the Plotinian system ranked painting and sculpture low as an art form as did Hebrew aesthetics. The Bible's injunction via Moses forbade idolatry. God was to remain imageless, consequently, this retarded sculpture, but expanded music. See Bernard Goldman, "The Question of a Judiac Aesthetic in Ancient Synagogue Art," Journal of Art and Aesthetic Criticism 19, 1961, pp. 295-302.

[41] Plotinus had stressed light as the source of beauty and hence God. This was a ingenious solution to the prohibition against idol images of God. From prehistoric times, light was the symbol of supernatural forces. For instance, Egypt's Re and Persia's Ahura Mazda were light Gods. Sutran Brahman is personified as the Primordial Light, Atman is "the light of lights." The Bible uses the element of light as the medium in which God shows himself to man. It mentions the burning bush which revealed the commandments to Moses, and the column of fire which showed the Israelities the way out of Egypt. See Max Jammer, Concepts of Space: The History of Theories of Space in Physics, pg. 34.

[42] In Byzantium, a caesar papacy existed, in which secular and spiritual powers were under one ruler. At this aristocratic court (titles were bought in this case), one could expect a Neo-Platonistic aesthetic in keeping with the theory of emanation, and this was indeed the case. Byzantine aesthetics were a continuation of Pseudo-Dionysius who had strengthened Plotinus' emanation theory. See W. Tatarkiewicz, History of Aesthetics, Vol. 2, pg. 28.

[43] Erwin Panofsky, *Meaning in the Visual Arts*, pp. 74ff.

[44] B. A. Uspensky, "'Left' and 'Right' in Icon Painting," *Semiotica* 13, 1975, pp. 33-39.

[45] St. Augustine's aesthetics were to become the foundations for what has been termed "Carolingian Renaissance." See Władysław Tatarkiewicz, *History of Aesthetics*, Vol. 2, pg. 47.

[46] An interesting hypothesis is presented by G. Heard, *Five Ages of Man*, pg. 72. Visions, he argues, may have resulted from a deficiency of lime in the parathyroids, causing eidetic imagery. As diet improved, hallucinations as aids to ascetic belief, faded.

[47] Arnold Hauser, *The Social History of Art*, Vol. 1, pg. 191.

[48] W. Tatarkiewicz, *History of Aesthetics*, Vol. 2, pg. 190. A monastery under the name of St. Victor, in Paris, one of the major centers of philosophical thought in the twelfth century.

[49] Johan Juizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England: Penguin Books Inc., 1955).

[50] Max Dvořák, *Idealism and Naturalism in Gothic Art* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1967, 1st printing 1928), pg. 20.

[51] Arnold Hauser, *The Social History of Art*, Vol. 1, pg. 237.

[52] Wylie Sypher, *Four Stages of Renaissance Style* (Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1978), pg. 38.

[53] I shall later argue that this found expression with Witelo, who had been influenced by Grosseteste. Grosseteste was a Franciscan stationed in Oxford, a hot-bed of theological controversy. Grosseteste advocated a *mathematical* aesthetics, reworking the Pythagorean aesthetic based on a geometry. Light was still its foundation, *but* it was seen more scientifically. Light was perceived in geometrical terms. It radiated in straight lines, giving the world a regular geometrical shape and hence, beauty of form. Art, for Grosseteste, imitated nature, *not* the appearance of nature. This was once again a step to the naturalization of aesthetic theory. The ideological contradiction which existed between the Franciscan and Dominican orders was resolved when the middle class ascended to power, demanding a new "naturalism."

[54] See Panofsky, Meaning in the Visual Arts, pp. 83-107, and E. H. Gombrich, Art and Illusion, 5th ed. (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1972), p. 151.

[55] Meyer Schapiro, Romanesque Art (New York: George Braziller, 1979), and Walter Abel, The Collective Dream in Art (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957).

CHAPTER FOUR

The Aesthetics of Capitalism

The pre-conditions which led to Renaissance aesthetic sensibilty developed at the end of the Middle Ages within the emergence of two prevailing philosophies: nominalism and universalism. Nominalist thinkers at Paris and Oxford pitted themselves against the realist school of scholastic thought, in an attempt to rule out a scholastic theology which tried to explain religious truths through rational arguments alone. Against this position, the nominalists introduced a logic of sic et non (here and now) which argued that truth was found in identifiable "things," i.e., in the direct apprehension of an object. The line of nominalist philosophers, such as Duns Scotus, William of Ockham and Nicholas of Cusa, was synthesized by Francis Bacon in his Novum Organum, which outlined the beginnings of an experimental science.[1] Any insight formulated in general terms had to have been based on individual concrete objects. Knowledge was reduced to rules of reasoning (analytical judgments) and direct experience, the empirical method characteristic of future Renaissance artisans and artisan-scientists.

The contradiction between the empiricism of the nominalist aestheticians and the universalism of scholastic realists resulted in a humanist synthesis - the Renaissance. Nominalism proved to be an effective ideology for the separation of knowledge of things and religious knowledge as faith allowed the early modern princes to claim economic and social control. Machiavelli's Prince (1513, published in 1532) eventually providing the political theory for a "war psychology," was the first step towards the eventual separation of Church and state.[2]

The new aesthetic synthesis found its earliest expression in Florence with the Silesian (German-Pole) Witelo. He was involved with the most exact research in the natural sciences - optics, and had introduced the optical studies of the Arabian Alhazen (935-1038) to the West. This was to be of major importance for the later pioneering scientific theories of art developed by Ghiberti.[3] Important psychological propositions included the notion that phenomena were grasped through visual impressions alone (light and dark) and that memory, as the storehouse for images, was essential to perception: an antecedent of seventeenth century association theories of perception. Simple beauty (light and color) was sense impression; complex beauty was perception (form), a prefiguration of humanistic aesthetics.

Despite these inquiries into optics and the psychology of seeing, in the eyes of the Church, art had no theoretical foundation. In the Summae, painting and sculpture found no place among the seven artes liberales (Dialectic, Rhetoric, Grammar, Arithmetic, Geometry, Astronomy and Music) but were an appendment to the seven artes mechanicae (Weaving, Building, Navigation, Agriculture, Hunting, Medicine, Racing), which were based on practice or skill.[4] From the Church's standpoint, they were simply regarded as artisanship, in accordance with their mental, inferior position. In this respect, it continued to adopt the attitude maintained in classical Greece and Rome. This low ranking on the social ladder is especially evident from taxation tables recovered in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, which show that painting did not bring great wealth. The wealthiest positions were occupied by the Lombard bankers and financiers (Paris, 1292). Painters and sculptors belonged to various medieval trades and crafts organized on a guild basis, subject to medieval ordinances which protected their members "from unreasonable outside competition," and protected local craftsmen from each other and safeguarded the quality of their work; not to mention instructions for the visitation of the sick and indigent members by those more fortunate and the assurance that members' funerals should be well attended.[5]

Among the earliest ordinances (1283) were those of the London painters' guild which was an off-shoot of the saddler's guild. The provision of 1335 sought to protect the equality of horse-armour. Altar pieces had to have a certain quality of goldleaf of usual thickness, and certain blues were prescribed (the use of German blue instead of real azure ultra marine - lapis lazuli - was forbidden). This color blue played a particularly important role in the early transitional period of the Quattrocento. First, after gold and silver, ultramarine blue was the most expensive and difficult color the painter used. Cheap substitutes were referred to as German blue and made from carbonate of copper. Ultramarine was made from powdered lapis lazuli expensively imported from the Levant. The powder was soaked a number of times to draw off a rich violet blue. Depending on its quality it sold for from one to four florins an ounce. Its expense served as a symbolic level for devotion by a merchant. Blue was generally used to pick out the principal figures of Christ or Mary in a biblical scene.[6]

This economic relationship was typical of Quattrocento patronage. Clients added their number to the Church patrons, expanding the demands for art. Quality of works varied. If works were purchased by the square foot, as Borso d'Este, the Duke of Ferrara often did, then art suffered from haphazard and quickly finished products. On the other hand, Florentine merchants, like Giovanni de Bardi, who paid for materials and time had their reward in superior works.

The Rise of the Bourgeoisie

It was in Florence where the middle class had gained most importance, and where the attitude towards the arts was different from that in the northern countries. There the painters were joined to the guild of the doctors and apothecaries (*Medici e Speciali*) a guild which had to concern itself with the wounded from the frequent wars which occurred during the rise of early capitalism. The study of anatomy and the pressures of finding effective cures led to an ever-closer study of nature which proved beneficial to the painters.[7] Furthermore, painters executing frescoes travelled from place to place and hence became better known. Through the acknowledgement of their patrons, the painters became economically the strongest and the most mobile element amongst the artists and hence, generally emancipated themselves earlier than the others.

This same process is recapitulated with the rise of the sculptor. A differentiation took place amongst the stonecutters; a class of freemasons arose.[8] Freemasons possessed the skill to carve calcareous stone, a skill developed during the eleventh century when stonecutters began to carve miniatures. These same stonecutters were later co-opted by the Fathers to carve large Church sculptures. In this way the sculptor's intellectual horizon expanded.

The values of a rising Florentian merchant middle class were evident in their transactions with artists. Of prime importance were the contracts, the amount and terms of payment and the terms of delivery being strictly defined. Measurements of picture and size, the number of figures portrayed and the materials used, had to be documented. These contracts usually deprived the artist of all his rights and he usually had to accept all the conditions laid down by the client. Like the Church, the client obtained the right to confiscate work which he felt did not conform to his ideology. The merchant had many motives for the purchase of paintings. First, there was the glorification of God. Expenditure on art was a virtue, a repayment to society and Church. It was "something between a charitable donation and payment of taxes or church dues."[9] Secondly, the honor of the city-state was upheld and magnified. The state was a work of art. Thirdly, art provided a commemoration of self and the pleasure of spending money. Making money by usury was unfulfilling if one could not spend it on oneself. Lastly, there was the sheer pleasure of possession.

Fiscalism and the Acceptance of the Artist

The new found artistic individualism in Florence reflected the rising rationalistic outlook of the bourgeoisie. The classical mathematics of Euclid, Archimedes, Apollonius were retrieved. Calculation and measurement, double-entry bookkeeping, soon spread and were eventually explicated in the best math textbooks. The first representatives of this secular learning were the Humanists. They were secretaries and officials of the municipalities - humanistic literati - who were proud of their rank. They hated the vernacular, wrote and spoke only Latin, and attached themselves to the upper classes, sharing the social prejudices of the nobility, rich merchants and bankers, despising manual labor.

The need articulated by the rising middle class for a naturalistic secularized world-view which would challenge Church authority, provided the artist with the opportunity to make a break from the Guild and increased his freedom from complete Church aristocratic dominance.[10] Leon Battista Alberti (1404-1472) retrieved the writings of Vitruvius and hence, expanded on Ghiberti's suggestion that the first rate artist was to be versed in grammar, geometry, philosophy, medicine, astrology, history, anatomy and arithmetic.[11]

His treatises on art were without precedent. Beauty was entirely rationalized. It was built on principles and general norms. "Beauty" was a kind of harmony and concord of all the parts to form a whole which was constructed according to a fixed number. It was a certain relation and order, a symmetry, the highest and most perfect law of nature. Art was the imitation of nature in a "raised" form.[12]

In the first half of the fifteenth century, Italy was still under the power of the Church and of princes. The approaching rationalization of sight with the rise of the merchant bourgeoisie can be clearly seen by an examination of the different generations of artists in Florence.[13] Fra Angelico (1387-1455), Paolo Uccello (1396/7-1475) and Masaccio (1401-1428?) are essentially Church painters, and hence, are involved with egg-tempera-fresco work. Their work is described by the humanist, Cristoforo Landino, as having imitation of nature (a sense of naturalism), relief (use of light/dark colors), a clear lucid style - the aesthetic category of puro, facilita (ease of application) and perspective. Furthermore, they are credited with possessing vezzoso (blitheness), a style strong in tonal extremes which would not assault the devotee and devoto (devoutness), an easily understood, edifying and instructing style. Most of these aesthetic categories are those of a priestly consciousness.

The next generation of painters exhibited aesthetic categories more in line with the virtues of being a prince. Count Castiglione composed his Courtier to show the ideal of a universal man. "The courtier," he says, "was to be agreeable in his manners, graceful, a good causeur, and a good dancer, yet strong and fit, well versed in the pursuits of chivalry, riding, fencing and jousting. At the same time he should read poetry and history, be acquainted with Plato and Aristotle, understand all the arts and practice music and drawing."[14] A tall order for almost anyone.

Filippo Lippi (1406-1463) and Desiderio da Settignano (1428-1464) exhibit aesthetic categories which meet some of these ideas.

Their works are said to possess gratioso (graciousness). Figures are portrayed in a delicate and elongated way, displaying little muscle - soft with not too much shadow. Madonnas have sweet faces. Courtly maidens in attendance exhibit courtly manners. Leonardo wrote the recipe for figures: elongation with little muscle exposure, ornato (ornateness) which translates into the qualities of piquancy, polish, richness, liveliness, charm and finish and varieta (variety). The picture frame was to be composed (compositione) of many groupings of people engaged in various sorts of activities. In short, variety was not conducive for contemplation. Intensified space was a representation of an active court life.[15]

Lastly, by 1500, the Humanists had accepted architecture, painting and sculpture as a liberal art. Castiglione, in his Courtier (1408), mentions that a good courtier should be able to draw, since Greek children had been encouraged to draw. However, this acceptance was not due solely to Humanist good will, but also to the rise of new seigniories and principalities which caused a disproportion between supply and demand on the art market. Artists cultivated the friendship of the Humanists to justify their newly gained economic position and to enlist these scientific advisors to justify their intellectual status. It was a mutual relationship, since the Humanists were able to use the art for their own propagandistic ideas. This gave rise to the unity of the arts, grouping painting, architecture, sculpture as Arti di disegno.[16]

Quattrocento Art and Bourgeois Aesthetic Values

The shift towards a new grouping of values occurs around the second half of the Quattrocento. There appears to be less stress on gold and ultramarine colors. The display of wealth is replaced by skill. Clothes changed from gilt fabrics and gaudy hues to the black of Burgundy. Contracts now included such items as cost of brushes and labor skill. Client-patrons demanded intricate landscapes for backgrounds rather than gilt. Contracts specified that only the main painter be allowed to finish main figures, or handle difficult areas such as the hands and faces.

The bourgeois aesthetic consciousness discriminated different values from the Church and nobility. The merchant's boy received a qualitatively different education than that of the court and its circle of offspring, who would attend one of the few humanist schools. His education would certainly be different from that of the Church schools, which were in decline. In Florence, a boy would enter a private or municipal lay school. There, he was taught commercial mathematics. The primary skill taught was gauging. Since commodities were not in standard sized containers, this being a nineteenth century phenomenon, sacks, barrels, bales, were unique containers. The calculation of their volume quickly, efficiently and accurately was of major importance in a country where each city state had its own currency and set of weights.[17] Many painters had gone through these mathematical schoolings. Visual literacy for a painter meant knowledge of geometry. This "rationalization of sight" was made possible through the achievements of three artist-scientists: Alberti (Della pittura libritre, 1435-1436), Viator (De artificiali perspectiva, pub. 1505), and Dürer (Unterweysung de Messung, pub. 1525). They provided the epistemological foundations for this merchant class who needed a rational world outlook.

New aesthetic categories were introduced which met the needs of this new discriminating class and new secular genres began to appear such as narrative paintings, naturalistic paintings from everyday middle class life, street scenes and interiors, lying-in rooms, betrothals, and portraiture to meet the new private demands for art. Many painters introduced unusual objects for gauging like odd shaped tents or oblique disks.[18]

The art public of the Quattrocento consisted of the urban middle class, the court society and the Church. The new economic policy, fiscalism, had introduced a new segment of society - the bourgeoisie. They introduced new aesthetic values. In these early beginnings, the pattern of enculturation was determined by Church ideology; however, as the fifteenth century drew to a close, these three strata affected each other resulting in the "commotion" of a "rational vision" developed by artisan-scientists.

Whereas Gothic art had presented a juxtaposed space (aggregate space)[19] wherein the onlooker had to "unravel" successive parts of the work, one after the other, the art of the late Quattrocento presented a unified space, an indivisible unity (systematic space) made possible through the rationalization of vision. Standards of proportion, worked out by Leonardo, were applied to a single unified theme. There was a dislike for the incalculable and uncontrollable. Measure, clarity and grandeur became the aesthetic values reflecting the bourgeois economic values of planning, expediency and calculability. "Beautiful" things were the outcome of a logical conformity of their individual parts to the whole. They existed in an arithmetically definable harmony of relationships. Composition of space was essentially based on the view that the sum of the parts was equal to the whole, a basic Euclidean theorem. Pictures were composed of bodies, bodies were composed of parts, parts composed of plane surfaces. This organizational theory, as developed by Alberti (1435) was taken from humanist classical literary criticism where a sentence was composed of clauses, clauses were broken down to phrases, the phrase consisted of words.

During the second half of the Quattrocento the life of the bourgeoisie assumed seignoirial features. They began to emulate the courtly - chivalric style and found a liking for that courtly art which characterized the nobleman. Mural decorations and tapestries consisting of representation of ideas derived from chivalric novels of themes from court life, of battles and tournaments, hunting scenes, cavalcades, scenes of play and dancing, tales from mythology, the Bible and history, portraits of heroes of antiquity, allegories of the cardinal virtues and above all love in all its forms and variations, found favor in the rich-merchant estates. Ironically, the feudal aristocracy, realizing the loss of their status, saw the necessity of adapting themselves to the new business consciousness. The shift towards the adoption of chivalric tastes is best exemplified by Lorenzo Medici, a man devoted to leisure and art collecting. (He set up the first art academy.) Art became a commodity and the artist became a small entrepreneur by the end of the Quattrocento.

Art of the Cinquecento and the Influence of Bourgeois Values: The High Renaissance

In the disintegration brought on by warring city-states in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the Pontifical State had seized the reins of political power. As a financial power the curia surpassed all the princes, tyrants and bankers and merchants in Northern Italy. As a result, the art of the Cinquecento (High Renaissance), as opposed to the predominantly secular minded art of the Quattrocento, emphasized the spiritual and supra-mundane values of solemnity, majesty, might and glory, but it still remained secular in its outlook. Christ was no longer a suffering martyr, but a heavenly king with human weaknesses. Mary looked at her dead son with no tears and no gestures. Significantly, for my purposes, the aesthetic ideal of kalokagathia was practiced: the concept of beauty reflected the aristocratic ideal of personality. Prophets, apostles, martyrs and saints were ideal personalities, free and great, powerful and dignified, grave and solemn. Noble figures appeared whose faces were the portraits of rich merchants. Monumental works of art were begun in churches. Portraiture of cardinals, bishops and the pope increased.[20]

Art became more anthropometric. Francesco di Giorgio, for example, demonstrated that a plan and proportion of a long church should correspond to the shapes and proportions of the human body; furthermore, he held that the proportions of a well built man should correspond to simple geometrical figures, circles and squares. Compositions began to be based on the triangle or circle, reflecting the stability of the family as a propertied class.[21]

The presentation of the Holy Family was based on the domicile structure of the upper middle class which stressed comfort and intimacy. New secular genres were introduced such as richly decorated wainscoting, painted and carved chests (cassoni), elaborately worked bedsteads, devotional pictures for the home in dainty round frames (tondi), figurally decorated plates given as presents to ladies of refinement.

This movement towards a greater clarity, unity and static world-outlook achieved through monumentalism, found full expression during the High Renaissance, a relatively brief period which spanned approximately twenty-five years - 1500-1525. It was the time of Bramante, Giorgione, Titian, Michelangelo and Raphael who continued the canons formulated by Perugino and Leonardo.

Yet the dominance of the church did not go unchallenged. The courtly class continued to vie with the ecclesiastics for power, and the struggle between Church and aristocracy was to continue through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The arts reflected it in the aesthetics of Mannerism, culminating with Absolutism and the Baroque.

Towards a Mercantilist Economic Policy: Mannerism and the Patronage of the Courts (1520-1620)

The events of the second half of the Cinquecento in Italy were of immense consequence for the consolidation of a courtly society.[22] Princes became the true wielders of power; the Church playing a more subdued position, yet still wed to the state. In politics and Church a double standard existed which characterized the whole period of what has been called Mannerism (1520-1600).[23] The relationships between political theory and religious theology were regarded as paradoxical and ambiguous, while predestination merely introduced an irrational and absurd element into that relationship. God's decisions were completely beyond the range of human understanding. Salvation was not associated with any moral condition or criterion of personal merit. The Protestant ethic called for a worldly asceticism. Work sanctified; commercial success was a sign of grace, a moral justification for the finance capitalism in which the princes indulged.

The Copernican system, first published in 1543, questioned the assumptions of the Church. The single focal point, God, the stable pyramid symbolic of feudal hierarchy, the circle which so ably represented revolution around a motionless stable center, all fell into disrepute. Anthropocentricity and homocentricity were shattered. Indeterminate ratios and proportions showed up.

The Church panicked. The looseness of laws "in the air," so to speak, manifested themselves as "casuistry" for the Jesuit Order. The Jesuit priest "loosened" and "adapted" the law to suit the particular case. Double meanings and double probabilities abounded in all institutions. The aesthetics of Mannerism embody these contradictions in art. The movement itself spans about eighty years (from the death of Raphael in 1520, to 1600). Its earliest beginnings are attributed to the greats of the High Renaissance. It is their fame which strengthened the idea of individualism; a most important ideological value for the growth of early capitalism.

Under the Papacy of Julius II (1503-1521), Michelangelo, Raphael, and Bramante had achieved great fame. It is significant to note that Michelangelo (1475-1564) achieved the status of the "Divine One." His writings claimed that beauty was a *quality* of nature; art and beauty were a matter of direct perception. The artist possessed *intelletto*, the ability to realize the image in his mind. This "inner vision" was innate only to the artist, hence, the concept of *genius* was introduced which increased the distance from control.[24]

What were these contradictions? To put it bluntly, classical one point perspective proved inadequate in practice. Depth, distance and volume were difficult to present. More and more the artist needed to introduce artificial perspective in order to integrate his composition. Depth perspective and orthogonal space suggesting three-dimensionality, conflicted with a planar or surface approach. The belief that perspective rested on one convention began to crumble.[25] The idealistic Platonic values of proportion, harmony and unity waned. The textbook dogma that one could not add or subtract from individual components of the artwork without endangering the Platonic proposition proved to be a lie. Jostling the elements about produced a different whole. Individualism was cultivated; the artist drew personalities.[26]

Mannerism has been called atectonic.[27] Mannerist sculpture and architecture exhibit this quality. Sculpture stands on its own axis. Man is no longer the center of the universe. He had to "walk around" the serpentine (*figura serpentinata*) figures of late Michaelangelo and later Mannerist works.[28] The technique of carving stone is replaced by modelling - allowing the creation of a "circumscribed" object. Architecture presents irregular spaced pediments. Country houses "loom" out of the environment. Long corridors present themselves more like streets than interior courtyards. Self-deception becomes a necessary ingredient for the presentation of this non-naturalistic space. Finally, in paintings, the equivalent of a "nightmare" was introduced. Giants and monsters, strange and sinister and mysterious elements were featured.

With this increased freedom, artists needed some sort of institution for guarding their interests and training young artists. Consequently, the second half of the sixteenth century saw the growth of academies. Lorenzo the Magnificent had already set up the first painting academy in Florence, independent of the guilds, but the earliest artistic academy was the Accademia del Disegno, founded by Vasari in Florence in 1562; this was soon followed in Rome where the Guild of St. Luke was transformed into an academy in 1577. Their establishment coincides with the establishment of scientific academies and correlationally they became the authority on matters of drawing, perspective and proportion.

In the late Mannerist period a fundamental tenet was that beauty must appeal to the reason and not the eye. Lomazzo's idea of reason came down roughly to knowledge and observance of certain fixed rules. Whereas Leonardo's classicism had introduced a scientific approach, drawing from the observation of actual facts, deducing rules which made up his treatises and discarding them if a new experimental test went against them, the later Mannerists laid down final rules. They were not the outcome of the artist's own observations, but were deduced from studies of other master works. It was the Caracci brothers, Agostino (1552-1602) and Annibale (1560-1609) in the Seicento, who transformed the symbolism of the Mannerists into a simple and solid stage which was the origin of the whole development of the modern devotional image with its hackneyed symbols and formulae: the cross, the halo, the lily, the skull, the pious look, the ecstasies of love and suffering. Religious art became absolutely distinct from profane art for the first time. Catholic Church iconography became fixed and systematized.[29]

In the Seicento a pattern emerges whereby the painter had to rely either on cardinals, their nephews and other prelates to receive commissions, and so gain a reputation, or on aristocrats and princes who were anxious to have painters of their own nationality in their entourage. When successive Popes came to the throne, they surrounded themselves with a crowd of relatives, friends and clients who poured into Rome from all over Italy, to seize the lucrative posts. These men at once began to build palaces, chapels and picture galleries. Art became big business. The artist was either employed by a patron (the most desirable position considering the circumstances) or else he painted pictures with no particular market in mind and exhibited in hopes of finding a purchaser. Middlemen, dealers, dilettantes, agents reflected the positions between these two extremes. The last group, however, was considered a last resort of the unemployed. One result of Roman patronage, the arrival of foreigners and the sheer quantity of painters in the city, was that painters began to keep in their studios a small number of pictures, often incompleted ones, which they showed to visiting clients as samples of their work, thus adumbrating current practices. Before this, prueba or samples of work had to be brought by the artist to show his patrons.[30]

Holland and Flanders

The cases of Holland and Flanders present two divergent trends. Flanders exhibits the tastes of an established aristocracy while the Netherlands represents the establishment of a middle class. In art, the case of the Netherlands was unique. The newly established middle class demanded portraiture in the manner of the Italian Mannerists, with the same austere, cold, rational outlook. Historical painting of humanistic scenes and Biblical paintings were to be found under the patronage of Prince Frederick Henry of Orange, but the bulk of the artistic market lay with the middle class.

In seventeenth century Holland, people had come into money which could not always be invested advantageously. Private customers, official and semi-official employers became the new patrons. The buying of articles of furniture and decoration, especially pictures, became a popular form of investment. Even the petty bourgeois bought pictures. Pictures looked well in homes and gave an impression of respectability; besides, they could be resold.

So great was this trade, that it eventually caused a surplus of artists. Rembrandt, Hals and Vermeer got into financial trouble as did Pieter de Hooch and Jacob van Ruysdael. Van Goyen traded in tulips; Van de Velde was a proprietor of a linen business; Hobbema became a tax collector, giving up painting at the age of about thirty; Steen and Aert van der Velde were inn keepers; van de Cappelle owned a dyeing business and Philips Koninck bought a canal-shipping privilege. Prices on the art market were low. A painting could be bought for 2 or 3 guilders; a good portrait cost 50 guilders. Jan Steen once painted three portraits for 27 guilders and Rembrandt, at the height of his fame, received no more than 1,600 guilders for his Night Watch. Themes included the possessions of the individual, the family, the community and the nation. Rooms and courtyards, the town and its environment, the local landscape became important content themes. Small scale paintings exhibiting a new found naturalism became the predominant genre and objects of trade. These genre paintings reflected bourgeois values placed on things. To have a thing painted and put on a canvas was not unlike buying it and putting it in the home; and as long as the art was comprehensible to the wealthy bourgeoisie of Amsterdam, it was bought.

Rembrandt played the contradictions of this market.[31] Influenced by Caravaggio rather than the Carracci group, he rejected the classical rules of the Italian Academy in favor of painting directly from nature. Rather than a Greek Venus as his model, Rembrandt chose a washer woman. For this he was severely criticized by such humanists as Joachin von Sandrart, yet Rembrandt knew the Bible intimately. He painted many Biblical scenes and humanistic themes (Samson's Wedding Feast, A Passion Series for the Prince of Orange, Judas Returning the Pieces of Silver) as his fame spread, many "naturalistic" portraits were copied and printed all over Europe, but a curious transformation took place. A copy of a laughing man became Democritus; Judas became Heraclitus; two Orientals became Mohammed and Philo

Judaes. Rembrandt's, Old Man with a Flowing Beard and a Fur Cap (1630) became Plato.

As art became a commodity, oil painting became the perfect expression of objectivity. Rembrandt, Vermeer and Hals were outstanding in a period where hundreds of thousands of canvases were produced, eventually causing an economic crisis in the Dutch trade in art. Hack works were produced reminiscent of today's modern factory produced "specials." The views of space, rendered by a chiaroscuro technique, were a logical extention of Italian Mannerism, only here there was no status or prestige that court painters enjoyed. This was one reason the Humanist painters despised these "naturalists" who never theorized about their works. Academies were not established in Amsterdam or Antwerp. The formation of Academies was impossible as long as Dutch art flourished, because it went against the nature of the country. Artists belonged to either guilds or companies to which they were required to pay an annual fee. It was not until 1750 that a Royal Academy was established in Antwerp because, owing to the art market, students would center themselves around a master like Rembrandt.

The opposite situation existed in Flanders. Isabella and Albert were given Belgium to rule by Philip II. They attempted to bring back all the great artists who had left Antwerp: Otto van Veen, Jan Brueghel, Wenzel Coebergher and of course, Rubens. Rubens represents the baroque painter par excellence. A humanist scholar and stoic philosopher, he introduced heroic volumes and "fat" textures. Olympian motifs, animals and lion hunts, battle scenes became fashionable.[32]

Baroque: The Aesthetic Consciousness of Absolutism

The Council of Trent's doctrine of transubstantiation proclaimed in their XIII session, proved to be a weak link which could be twisted into a new materialism and hedonism. The Council had already given permission to use images; now transubstantiation called for the spirit to become materialized and consumed. Bread (the host) and wine became spiritual food. This allowed for the external material world to be a visible sign of religion and piety. Spirit could be represented and consumed at the level of Flesh. Essence and existence could not be distinguished.[33]

The Roman expression of this edict resulted in the ostentation and display of Bernini's (1598-1680) colonnades of St. Peter.[34] Bernini had great success in securing the favor of the popes and made himself artistic director of Rome. With him a new unity was introduced, in which ornament, sculpture and pictorial elements were orchestrated.

This was an art of *détente*. The Church knew it had lost its power. Popes and cardinals became eager patrons to commemorate their names in magnificent churches, palaces and tombs. Baroque paintings allowed for a transference of piety. It used the world below to represent the world above. "It affirmed the glory of the eternal by over-stating the temporal."[35] This was one reason for its excessive magniloquence.

Baroque art's (1600-1760) treatment of form represented the early manifestations of a Newtonian world-view. Weight, mass and motion appear to be the three recurring concepts. The secularization of the transcendental resulted in the spiritual becoming "fleshy." The material image (art) and the physical sensitization (religion) terminated in the senses. The Early Baroque of Rubens introduced a solidity of the body. Caravaggio, too, had attempted to get back to a bodily materialism. The Early Baroque artist began to deal and think in masses.[36]

The illusion of infinity, a notion connoting power and magnificence, was created by a special access to further space which occurred when the viewer broke through tightly defined boundaries. The dome became the means to achieve this. Domes were usually painted, but were open in the middle, where blazing light and infinite space appeared and into which angles and shapes were absorbed.

Developments in France

With the decline of the influence of the Curia and the impoverishment of Rome, the center of the world shifted from Italy to the country where the most progressive economic structure of the age, mercantilism, developed under the absolutism of the monarchy: in France, the first half of the seventeenth century was a period of conflict, much like Early Mannerism in Italy. It marked the rise of the bourgeois class under an increasing centralization of power. This period (1600-1650) was marked by a dual reality, what has been aptly called the tragic vision.[37] Absolutism, in the eyes of Pascal viewing events through a Jensenist ideology, was a retreat from God and the progressiveness of the bourgeoisie. The tragic vision was the exclusion of God from ethics and epistemology. Like the transformations of the Egyptian cult-of-the-dead, God in the age of rationalism was also transformed; he never intervened but remained "hidden," paradoxically always present, yet always absent. He was no longer the source of absolute values. Values had to be found within man. This was the paradox of truth.

The rise of the Third Estate in France repeats the previous pattern in Italy and Holland, only their rationalism had to deal with state affairs, with more complex mercantilist economics. René Descartes and Corneille affirmed that the individual should be self-sufficient long before the laissez-faire policies of Adam Smith and Ricardo. Corneille's dramatic unities of time, space and action, absolute values now taken out from the hands of God, were to be found in reason. Rationalism saw men only as isolated individuals for whom other men existed only as objects. The notion of community was destroyed. The world was now an infinitely large collection of reasonable individuals, all equal and all interchangeable. The orderly universe was replaced by infinite space which had no limits and no qualities.

Poussin[38] adumbrated the early rationalist aesthetic theories of the Enlightenment, by reviving classical theory as first formulated by Alberti. Beauty was a property objectively inherent in real objects and not in man's response to them. Beauty consisted of order and proportion and could be evaluated with reason. In order for art to achieve this beauty it had to be based on principles and adhere to general rules. Art was therefore to become a rational science. Through design or drawing, which was essential to the visual arts, a map of the artist's intention could be formed. Poussin further distinguished simple looking at things from their thorough scrutinizing. The first of these he called aspect, the second prospect. Aspect was a natural process, while prospect was an "activity of the reason."

The naturalist artists par excellence were the middle class painters, Louis Le Nain along with his brothers Antoine and Mathieu. They painted peasants at meals, tending their children, visiting relatives, listening to the village piper. They portrayed them in their ragged dresses along with their pots, pans, hovels, pigs. It was genre art borrowing classical elements where it could.

Classical aesthetics fell under Descartes' (1596-1650) rationalism. Art was to be measured and tested by the rules of reason, for only under such an examination could it be shown whether or not it contained something genuine, lasting and essential. As the Cartesian spirit spread, the course of both seventeenth and eighteenth century aesthetics became based on the idea that, as nature in all its manifestations was governed by certain principles, and as it was the highest task of the knowledge of nature to formulate these principles clearly and precisely, so art was under the same obligation. As there were universal and inviolable laws of nature, so there were artistic laws of art. Batteux's The Fine Arts Reduced to a Single Principle expressed this conviction.

Nicholas Boileau-Despereaux[39] (1636-1711) was the Descartes of aesthetic theory. His work elevated aesthetics to the ranks of an exact science in that he introduced in place of merely abstract postulates, concrete application and social investigation. The parallelism of the arts and sciences in French classism was tested and verified in fact. Nature and Reason became synonymous. "Natural" aesthetics equated truth and beauty. It was the expression of the same inviolable order of being. The artist could not compete with the creations of nature, nor could his forms be "real" unless he knew the laws of nature. These exact and universal rules were applied to general relations and proportions through geometric axioms.

Seen in this light, all properties and qualities were sifted out and relegated from the realm of truth to that of subjective illusion. What remained as the real nature of the object, not what had presented itself to direct perception, were certain pure relations which could be expressed in terms of exact and universal rules (objective truth). The work of art had to burn all bridges leading to the world of mere appearances. The law of reason that governed art was not derived from and produced by imagination; it was rather a purely objective law which the artist did not have to invent, but only to discover in the nature of things. The true poet was born and not made. Established norms and fixed standards were not instituted necessarily to teach artistic truth directly but to protect the artist from error and establish criteria for determining his error.

The developments in France of the seventeenth century we have been following, may be distinguished in two distinct phases. Louis XIV's reign provides the dividing line.[40] Before 1661, under Cardinal Richelieu and Mazarin, a liberal tendency predominated in artistic life. Artists were not under state tutelage, there was no government-organized art production, no generally accepted rules sanctioned by the state. This first half of the century was also the heyday of salons. The salons were small unofficial academies at which literary fame and literary fashions were created. The salons also contributed to the development of an art public by bringing together in their circle, connoisseurs and people interested in art from widely differing classes of society. It was here that members of the hereditary nobility met representatives of the official nobility and the bourgeoisie - especially the financiers who were already playing a part in the world of art and literature and competing with the nobility in cultural life by occupying important posts in law courts and in the treasury.

The second half of the century was nowhere as creative as the first. Once established as part of the nobility, the Noblesse de la Robe adopted the chivalric moral code. Heroism and fidelity, moderation and self-control, generosity and politeness were virtues to be mastered in court. Court etiquette was guided by the same principles of good form and kept to the same style as that in which the king's palaces were built and his gardens trimmed. All represent the rationality of the Enlightenment. The Court introduced the "grand manière," the classicism of baroque art. Individual works of art lost their autonomy and amalgamated into the total ensemble of an interior, a house or palace as they became more or less parts of a monumental decoration. From 1661 onwards, political imperialism was paralleled by intellectual imperialism. No department of public life was spared from the intervention of the state: law, administration, trade, religion, literature and art - everything was regulated from the outside. For the arts, Le Brun and Boileau became the legislators, the academies became the courts of law protected by the King. In February 1648, the first French Academy was accepted under the same rules as those of Florence and Rome. By 1655 it had become a royal enterprize and by 1656 it had moved into the Louvre. By 1663, Colbert was appointed its vice-protector (Minister of Fine Arts) and Le Brun, its perpetual director. Both made sure all painters joined this Academy and declared a monopoly over the practice of life-drawing, reflecting the mercantilist economic policy. The Academie Royale de Peinture et de Sculptures was the foundation and consummation of this economic system. In 1672, Colbert became its protector. To make mercantilism work, he broke all local and provincial powers, solidifying them in one central authority.

With every ordinance enacted the strength of King and Central Government increased. The Academy became directly dependent on the King and art became an instrument of the state government with a special function of raising the prestige of the monarch, intensifying the splendor of the court and developing new myths of kingship. Through Colbert, the King made Racine his historian, Le Brun and Van Meulen became his history and war painters.

The Academy had complete monopoly.[41] It made state appointments, bestowed commissions and conferred titles; it awarded prizes - above all the Roman prize which was a scholarship to live at the Academie de France in Rome for four years - gave pensions, permissions to exhibit or to take part in competitions. Le Brun extended this art market domination and brought together tapestry manufacturers, ornamental draughtsmen, bronze-founders, goldsmiths, ceramists, glassblowers and architects into workshops under his management. The "Manufacture des Gobelins" (since Gobelins was the original tapestry manufacturing family) produced all works of art for the king's court and gardens. This bringing together of the arts produced magnificent results at first, but eventually it became mechanized and factory like; eventually standardization set in.

Le Brun directed the institution according to doctrinaire and totalitarian principles. Both he and Colbert were instrumental in introducing the conferences (1664) into the Academy. These lectures analyzed a picture or piece of sculpture and summed up opinion of the work under review in a dogmatic fashion. This was followed by a discussion which would achieve the formulation of a rule accepted by taking a vote or by decision of a referee. Colbert had these decisions listed in a book in order to provide a solid fund of authoritative aesthetic principles. In 1680, Testelin summed up all the rules laid down by the Academy and Roger de Piles (1708) in his Balance de Peintres set a scale between 0-80 where he classified all famous painters according to composition, expression, design (drawing) and color, while Freart set up a content scale. Historical pictures, which were to have didactic values through the use of allegories, were given highest ranking, still-lifes were on the bottom of the scale, followed by landscapes, then animals because they were a form of life and then portraiture, which held the second highest esteem.

The absolutism of Colbert and Le Brun held on well into the eighteenth century; however, the rising bourgeois class made claims to a new consciousness, which was to eventually end in revolution.

In the Academy, the beginnings of a counter-consciousness arose with disputes in the Academies as early as 1671, This was the querelle des anciens et des modernes. The ancients were called Poussinistes; while the moderns were called Rubenistes. It was an opposition between the classicistic - linear style, and the sensualistic - pictorial tendency, which was led by Roger de Piles. Roger de Piles was a precursor of the eventual dissolution of courtly baroque art. He championed the rights of the lay public, claiming that an unprejudiced simple taste was entitled to its say.

The choice between couleur and dessin was more than a technical question; the emphasis on color meant a stand against absolutism and rational regimentation of a static life. This marked the beginnings of the conflict between tradition and progress; or classicism and modernism; rationalism and emotionalism.

The period from approximately 1680 to 1750 marks the decline of the power of the aristocracy and the rise of the haute and middle class bourgeoisie. This time period saw the dissolution of baroque courtly art and the rise of a rococo style which reflected the tastes of the haute bourgeoisie and a naturalism which was associated with the middle class who were the "Third Estate." Salons once again emerged as private societies which became the centers for art and literature. It was here that a cultural levelling took place between all three strata: aristocracy, haute bourgeoisie (the nobility), and middle class . The aristocracy visited these salons and made contact with the upper bourgeoisie - the high financiers. Sons of princes and counts also mixed with watchmakers and small tradesmen.

Eventually, the aristocracy adopted a more middle class pattern of thought and morals.

The Rococo movement[42] was a weak expression of this bourgeois consciousness. It was a transitory expression. Rococo was the grande manière on a smaller scale; a style during the early years of Louis XV which expressed the victory of the city nobility over the court nobility - the resurgence of the Nobles of the Robe. Its aesthetic was that of French sensationalism. Space dominated mass; in the Baroque, mass had dominated space.

Private patrons displaced the King and the state in the field of building activity. Hôtels and petites maisons for salon meeting designed by Lepautre and Oppenord were erected, instead of castles and palaces. The intimacy and elegance of boudoirs and cabinets were preferred over cold marble and heavy bronze. It was a highly-skilled decorative art, piquant, delicate and nervous. Such art replaced the heroic landscape, the narrative and historical painting with a liking for a more human, more accessible and more unassuming content, particularly pastorals and portraits which hitherto, had been intended for the public. Portrait painting became a popular genre serving mostly private purposes. Everybody who could afford the expense had a portrait.

Watteau (a Rubenist) expressed the urban middle class sentiments, with paintings full of melancholy, idyllic scenes which reflected the desire of a class for a tranquil and serene way of life. He portrayed the amusements of young people leading the life of carefree shepherds and shepherdesses. His was a description of the peace of countryside; the Arcadian ideal of the identity of nature and civilization was projected.

The nude became the favorite subject of this middle class. Love had become docile, amusing and a habit where it once was a passion. Frescoes in state apartments, the gobelins of the *Salons*, the paintings in boudoirs, engravings in books, porcelain groups and bronze figures became saturated with naked women, swelling thighs, hips and exposed breasts. The Baroque had preferred well-developed women; now slender young girls, often child-like, were painted. Boucher, as the leading exponent of this genre, became the most important painter.

As the middle class struggled to free itself from absolutism, naturalism increased. Rococo, which was more individualist, more intimate, had turned against classicism, but *not* against the characteristics of a courtly-aristocratic style, although it bore within it from the outset, the elements of the dissolution of court culture. It lost the concentrated precise and solid character of classicism and showed an increased dislike for everything regular, geometrical and tectonic. The aesthetic theories written at that time concurred with this attitude.

The shift towards a subjective epistemology, towards a phenomenalism, meant a shift in the concept of nature.[43] A psychology was incorporated. It was no longer the nature of things (*natura naturans*) but the nature of man (Nature as *natura naturanta*). The basis of the beautiful was to be found in the nature of man. This was *not* a relativism; the individual was *not* the absolute judge concerning works of art. This approach considered taste as a sort of "sense" shared by all - the possibility of a common sense was posited. The avoidance of arbitrariness and the discovery of a specific law of the aesthetic consciousness was regarded as the goal of aesthetics as a science. The shift focussed on the secondary qualities of an artwork. Aesthetic appreciation was seen as the constitution of diverse and often conflicting associations. This charm was lost if one did not succeed in surveying the whole extent of the artwork's wealth or if one did not analyze its diversity into its individual elements.

With Diderot (1713-1784) French Sensationalist aesthetics found scientific expression. Taste, according to Diderot, was both subjective and objective; it was subjective because it had no other basis than individual feeling, and objective because this feeling was simply the result of hundreds of individual experiences. Hence in every judgment involving taste, innumerable former experiences were brought to bear. In his Essay on Painting, Diderot argued that because men differed in physical make-up, in mind, in imagination, habit, environment and education, standards of beauty could only be derived from the study of passions, customs and characters. The artist needed to get his ideas from nature and practical experience, not only from rules. By "nature," Diderot meant consistency of representation in age, habit and function of the object or person. The observations of minute details were a necessity. The artist had to study the season, climate, situation, weather, position of light, if he was to be successful.

Diderot therefore, provided a purely empirical explanation for the "sixth sense." From the time one is born, one absorbs innumerable impressions, each of which is accompanied by a certain feeling or value judgment of approval or disapproval. Feelings for the beautiful resulted from the accumulation of all these observations and experiences in memory and fused them into a new general impression. This feeling was irrational in the sense that in the pure experience of the beautiful, all recollection of those former experiences vanished and the actual process of this experience could therefore not give one any knowledge of its development. The truth of beauty was no longer based on a priori propositions, but on practical experience, on clarity, routine and utility.

Developments in Spain

In Spain, by contrast, this period produced no progressive middle class.[44] Lawyers and officials had received their training at the Church-controlled universities. The court had to invoke the services of foreign advisors. Despite Spain's history of turmoil, the "spirit" of Spain remained alive with the Castillian peasantry. The majo and his wife, the maja, were individuals who flaunted authority. They dressed outrageously, smoked black cigars, unlike the snuff-taking upper classes of Madrid and regularly got into brawls. They were beggars, pickpockets - their wives were chestnut sellers, orange sellers, lime girls and servants. Their class consciousness was strengthened by the fact that the upper classes were aliens, not the true representatives of the Castilian spirit. (Castilian peasantry includes all of Spain except Catalonia, Aragon, Valencia and the Moorish kingdom of Granada.) Spanish regionalism defined centralization. The "picaros" - a brotherhood of thieves and beggars - with laws and customs of their own, were not, as the rest of Europe, a *part* of the community. In Hapsburg Spain they *were* the community. It was a society of beggars which could not be contained by the inquisitors, revenue guards, judges nor jails of the autocracy. The *picaro* of the Golden Age of Hapsburg rule became the *majo* during Goya's time. It was their "spirit" which Goya represented.

Although the nobleman or citizen emulated foreign fashion and courtly etiquette, it was a veneer for their true *majan* tastes which included their native dances (fandango and sequidilla). In short, the fashion of *majaism* was comparable to the shepherd cult of contemporary France and as we shall see, the picturesque in England. *Majaism* was a symbol of the victory - hidden but persuasive - of an awakening middle class consciousness which had its roots in the *picaro*. Goya kept this consciousness alive when he painted the aristocracy. He satirized them through the use of vibrant color - a costume trait of the Castillian Spirit.[45]

Goya's work recorded the decline of the Spanish Royal House.[46] His *Caprichos* was a series of political etchings wherein the aristocracy were featured as animals. His royal portraits were all satires of his disillusionment with Spain's rule. The Spanish middle class was not to win a constitution until the revolutions of 1820-1823, long after England and America had established themselves as world powers.

Developments in England

In seventeenth century England, James I and Charles I were faced with the increase and power of Parliament represented by the commercial and industrial middle classes. In the Tudor period, when capitalism was in its primitive stage, the Crown had collaborated with merchants to stay on top of the aristocracy. The Stuarts, noticing the results of French absolutism, threw away the loyalty of the middle classes and support of Parliament and rehabilitated the court nobility (landed aristocracy). They assured the great landowners of a share in the profit of capitalistic enterprizes by offering them monopolies. This then antagonized established merchants and the rising middle classes, who refused to pay taxes to Charles I. So began the Civil War. From the period of 1640-1660 the class struggle to defend capitalism against absolutism, landed aristocracy and the Church, raged on. Essentially, three different strata were in conflict: first, the big landowners; secondly, the bourgeoisie in alliance with capitalistically-minded nobility; and lastly, complex groups of small tradesmen, town laborers and peasants. The Levelers and the Diggers wanted the most radical reforms.

The execution of the King and the Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell was followed by an attempt to redress balance in favor of the Crown, after the Restoration of Charles II and during the reign of James II. But through the "Glorious" or "Bloodless" Revolution of 1688 Parliament eventually secured its position, representing the interests of a commercially based landed property class and an associated commercial capitalistic class. The subsequent antagonism between Whigs and Tories was a pseudo-conflict. With the Whigs in power, commercialism and dissent were encouraged; Puritanism was vindicated. Tories promoted pure landed property and the Anglican Church. Theirs was more an oligarchy than a democracy, to which the monarch was a desirable addition.

Lely, Principal Painter of Charles II, and Kneller were the painters of the Restoration. They maintained Van Dyck's tradition, catering to the aristocracy and gentry and merchant class. They were the first portraitists to have a huge clientele and vast studio practices.[47]

The aristocratic upper class, generally speaking, was the only segment which had any artistic tradition. Their taste, like that of the court in France and elsewhere, tended towards the Baroque, but in order to suit a Protestant and increasingly bourgeois country, a sober Baroque, devoid of the extremes of fantasy and irrationality which marked its expression in Catholic countr~~ies.~~ On the whole, their houses were relatively smaller than their French counterparts, requiring smaller pictures that came to be known as conversation pieces: ideal wall furniture for the dining room. But above all, the English squirearchy valued land. Gainsbourgh gave expression to such values by painting the wealthy landowner's family set against a background of land and home. The upper aristocracy was however, divided. The Tories, county noblemen, favored an independent, self-sustaining, nation. They were loyal to the monarchy. Whigs, on the other hand, lobbied for trade and industrialization, as did the haute bourgeoisie who supported them. The contradictions between these two classes were best exemplified by Hogarth.

Hogarth was familiar with Watteau's scènes galantes (conversation pieces).[48] He painted angling parties and childrens' parties, thus introducing a Regency style into English painting and single-handedly created a new genre, the modern moral subject which introduced the practice of painting and engraving a series, telling a story (i.e., Harlot's Progress, Marriage à la Mode). These moral stories, like those noted earlier in the Greek society, adumbrated the decline of this aristocracy. Towards the end of his career, he engaged in bitter political cartooning and his audience had began to expand into the middle class.

The Enlightenment had introduced prose, and among the English empiricists, Locke had said that poetry at its best was a pleasing cheat, supplying pleasant pictures and agreeable visions. Hume, in congruence, saw poetry as the work of professional bards who sought to entertain by fictions. Jeremy Bentham had no use for it. Poetry and prose was distinguished by the fact that "all the lines except the last, extended to the margin, whereas in poetry, some of them fell short." Poetry proved nothing, according to these empiricists. It was full of vague generalities. "The silly jingling might satisfy the ears of a savage, but would make no impression on a mature mind."[49]

Hume's, "Of the Standard of Taste," made beauty a secondary quality. Beauty was not a quality in the things themselves, but existed merely in the mind which contemplated it. Each mind perceived a different beauty. What appeared as a relativism became actually an empirical uniformity which could be deduced because the nature of the beautiful could be found in the nature of man. Man's nature prevented these diversities from becoming indefinitely great. This then was the biological given. Relative agreement amongst aesthetic judgments was observable everywhere as a mere matter of fact. Impossible as it was to set up absolute norms, there still appeared an empirical regularity which was an empirical average. The great classical works of art bridged the gap of centuries and became the best evidence that human thinking changed, but human feeling and the capacity for aesthetic impressions had remained basically the same. Hence, Hume affirmed that the foundation of the rules of composition were based on experience. They were general observations, concerning what had been universally found in all countries, in all ages. Aesthetics was a normative endeavor striving for primary qualities. Rules were deduced from sense experiences rather than from reason alone.

The Bio-Mechanical Metaphor: Pre-Romanticism and the Picturesque Style

The haute bourgeoisie had developed a logico-centric view of the world; the stress had been on neo-classical rules and rational axioms. It was an "Age of Prose." The world now began to change as industry began to change the landscape. This period is often called pre-Romanticism and it patterned itself after the mathematical physicists, Lamettrie (L'Homme Machine, 1748) and d'Holbach (Systeme de la Nature, 1770) in France, who argued that all nature, both animate and inanimate, was reduced to a rigid determinism. The body was merely matter in motion. The mechanistic hypothesis underlying all biological processes did away with such concepts as "mind" and "soul." "...the brain secreted thought, just as the liver secreted bile..."[50]

The picturesque style which lasted from approximately 1730-1780[51] marked a period of "primitive accumulation" of capital both by the squirearchy and middle class and Whig aristocracy. It marked the interlude between Classicism and Romanticism; the shift from reason to imagination. By and large, early picturesque art was a cottage art, a variation on Dutch landscape painters who had had such an influence on Claude Lorraine. It was filled with a desire for good works and sympathy for the unfortunate. The poor were set against idyllic scenes, comfortably engaged in their work. Like the Poor Laws which were a necessary nuisance to maintain a peasant labor force, these paintings promoted the ideal of stability and harmony needed to ensure profit.

As the eighteenth century progressed, the greatest industry after agriculture became the textile industry. Wage labor was made available by the expropriation of the peasantry who reported daily for work. Etchings depicting peasants combing, carding and spinning yarn were popular. Cloth was woven, dyed and bleached by thousands of workers. Many thousands of others were employed making canals for the barges which carried the cotton goods to seaports. In 1750, Parliament was busy passing Enclosure Acts. More land meant more cotton - more industry and more peasants driven off the land. Masses of smallholders became dispossessed.[52]

Picturesque art began to change. Tour Guides, especially of the Lake District became popularized by Rev. William Gilpin (1724-1804) whose aquatints of ruins, straggling trees, caverns, rocks, torrents, abandoned villages and literary hermitages, gave a viewer the sense of roughness and sudden variation, two highly praised aesthetic values. Painting became ut pictura poesis - poetry of painting. The popularity of these landscape pictures increased as travellers and amateur artists were able to bring back sketches of distant lands which were then reproduced through the techniques of mezzotint, stipple and aquatint.

Gilpin's view is in direct opposition to classical beliefs. Symmetry, balance and four-squareness were to be avoided. His advice to gardeners was to turn their lawn into a place of broken ground - to plant rugged oaks, break the edges of the walk, mark it with wheel-tracks, then scatter a few stones; this then would give it a roughness and make it picturesque.

English landscape was changing. Coalpits and quarries of early industrialization stirred the imagination. Vacuity, darkness, solitude and silence evoked the sublime, as did vast cataracts, raging storms, thunder and artillery. Burke's Inquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful encapsulated the values of the changing British landscape. The categories of the sublime included: obscurity, power, privations, vastness, infinity, succession (progress beyond actual limits), and uniformity (illusion of infinity). One would be hard pressed to find more adequate values to describe the overwhelming power of the full expression of the Steam Age.[53] Cartography and topography, based on the Cartesian grid system had transformed the wilderness of nature into an intellectual field pattern. In this sense, the picturesque was a nostalgia for the Pre-Cartesian past.

A new associationist psychology was introduced by Allison's Essay on the Nature and Principles of Taste (1790). He argued that the arts were to use objects "as signs or expressions of qualities capable of producing emotion."[54] Art was able to transform the appearance of things by evoking in us the emotion to color the world by our own mood. "Our minds, instead of being governed by the character of external objects, are unable to bestow upon them a character which does not belong to them. Things can serve as 'signs' for feeling."[55] The object was only a hint to awaken the imagination and lead it through every analogous idea that had a place in the memory. The stress on secondary qualities in associationist terms was an early indicator that the world-view was beginning to change and it was the middle class who were doing the changing.

Middle class aesthetic values at this time were best exemplified in literature rather than in the visual arts. The rise of the novel and a middle class reading public meant that the government became more and more sensitive to public opinion. Both Whigs and Tories used the press for propaganda. Swift and Defoe's novels had presented the ideology of the haute bourgeois: Robinson Crusoe, thrown back on his own resources, triumphed over the stubbornness of nature, creating prosperity, security, law and order and became a patriarch to the savage Friday. The story of his adventures becomes one long hymn of praise to the industry, endurance, inventiveness and common sense of the practicality and usefulness of the Enlightened gentlemen.[56]

Aesthetic Consciousness of the Industrial Revolution Based on Steam: The Romantic Rebellion (1780-1830)

From 1650-1700, wood was the energy source which supplied windmills, waterwheels, spinning wheels. The landed nobility and merchant families held economic control over this valuable natural resource. From 1700-1750, coal replaced wood. The smelting of iron led to the development of the steam engine; by 1780 the market was flooded with steam engines, built for circular motion for working mills. From 1750-1800, the steady improvements of mechanical inventions favored the small businessmen as well as the large capitalist. By 1830 the transition was complete; timber economy was replaced by the age of coal and iron. One can readily see why for Wordsworth, Beauty was tranquility and for Burke something neat and smooth. The Industrial Revolution was to change the entire British landscape.[57]

From 1750-1800, Glasgow and Edinburgh and the area between Derby, Stoke-on-Trent, Shrewsbury and Birmingham became the seat of a laissez-faire philosophy, providing the rationale for the utilitarian philosophy of James Mill. In Glasgow, Adam Smith (1723-1790) and John Millar were advocating a laissez-faire economic policy. Smith's Wealth of Nations (1776) advocating an "invisible hand theory" expressed the sentiments of a capitalist economy.

As the growth of capitalist relations took place and feudal relations receded, the evils of the early factories and the general distress during the last years of the eighteenth century were felt everywhere. Liberty, equality and fraternity had been values which had universal appeal, greatly desired by the peasants as well as the bourgeoisie; however, the events of the French Revolution convinced the British bourgeoisie that the Reign of Terror was a threat to their own position. Those same values, then, became translated into freedom to compete with others on equal terms in pursuit of one's private property. Values of efficiency and utility became the new watch words.[58]

The rising industrial capitalists needed new practices incompatible with the humanism of Adam Smith. Malthusian population theory - the inevitability that poverty arises from the _natural_ growth of population which would always outrun the means of production, proved to be a convenient ideology. The alliance that had grown up in the later eighteenth century between science and art had the common foundation of humanism. When political canons denied the humanist standpoint for the defense of property, the link between science and and art was broken. The dissolution was further exacerbated by the split between owners of primary industry - like iron, copper, coal (magnates like the Whitehavens, Londonderrys, Howards) and secondary metal trades like locks, chains, nails, "the toy trade" and Sheffield cutlery.

The separation of art from science, precursor to the phenomenon of _l'art pour l'art_ had its clearest expression in France, specifically in the Second Empire. In England the reaction was a romanticism which attempted to recover the lost values of the medieval ages. These were currents against "science" but there were also currents which modelled themselves on what was to become positivism.

The reaction to the capitalism of the "Enlightenment" period is known as Romanticism. Romanticism was a wide spread phenomenon which occurred at different times in different countries as the Enlightenment swept through each country at a different rate.[59] Romanticism marks the change from a Newtonian world-order to a Biocentric world-order, an organic world-view. If the seventeenth century (1650-1750) had been the age of physics, then the eighteenth century (1750-1850) was the age of biology. In Germany, Herder (1749-1803) had a notion of society and culture as an organism. He believed that groups of people could be classified biologically (i.e., grouped together by similar beliefs of living). Vico, in Italy, saw history as a series of cycles. Goethe introduced the concept of morphology, a systematic study of formation and transformation. Comte de Buffon envisioned nature as a dynamic whole wherein individuals varied from each other in imperceptible degrees. Process was by gradations, odd species were postulated. Mutability, development, constant change, variation appear as evolutionary terms but Buffon saw an organic species as a degenerate form of a more perfect original type. Rationalism and Empiricism could not explain this dynamic order of life. Life's "spirit" required a different epistemology for its order. All change in nature was interpreted as an interaction between the organic and inorganic; between mind and matter. The Kant-Laplace "Nebular hypothesis" (1755) stated that the earth and solar system were derived from a previous state of the system of matter in motion by the operation of Newtonian laws. All actions was seen as taking place by a force of attraction and repulsion. Lessing's Laocoon, which had presented the "static moment" of action was replaced by Winckelmann's desire for exaggeration and involution - the pulls and releases of form. The shift was away from Lockean primary qualities. Secondary qualities became important - a phenomenalism was introduced. Passions and feelings were stressed.

Gone were subject-object distinctions Romantics grappled with relating the part to the whole. The whole (the organism) now determined the parts. Man attempted to become part of nature - to immerse himself in the whole - yet retain his individuality - his ego. Intuition, instinct, imagination were the catchwords of a new psychology. The transcendent quality of genius marked the arts. Classicist aesthetics was transcended. The notion of class or whole was maintained, yet it was now made up of individual unique types whose composition would affect the whole.

Romanticism was in many respects a form of Mannerism. Once again freedom prevailed; each aesthetician had his own interpretation of Nature's will. Once again the notion of genius was introduced: an avant-garde eccentric individual from whom the doctrine of art for art's sake evolved. This time however, patronage was often indirect, sometimes totally absent. Alienation and narcissism reappeared.

England

Early Industrialization (1775-1800) had been the achievement of a haute bourgeois class along with Whig aristocracy. From 1800-1830 the middle classes had their way as England industrialized. The real losers were the petite bourgeoisie or propertyless class, and the old landed aristocracy, whose prestige was waning. If one examines the list of characters in early Romanticism they are all propertyless. Blake's father for example, was a hosier; Blake himself a publisher. Coleridge was the son of a vicar.[60]

Romanticism in England may be viewed in two phases, progressive and conservative. The progressive phase was fought against the inhumanity of Bentham and Malthus, the apologists of the now developed capitalist system. Its tenets may be discovered, to a certain extent, in Shaftesbury's aesthetics. His fundamental thesis was that "all beauty is truth." To him, "truth" signified the inner intellectual structure of the universe, which could not be known in terms of concepts alone or grasped inductively by means of an accumulation of individual experiences, but which could be immediately experienced and intuitively understood. Reason (rationalism) and experience (empiricism) were surpassed through intuitive understanding which proceeded from the whole to the parts. This was the gestalt notion of intuitive understanding.

Shaftesbury was able to include a notion of transcendence (transformation) in his aesthetic theory. Artistic imitation did not merely imitate the product but the process of becoming. This required an act of genius which became central to his theory. In short, Shafesbury's notion of disinterested pleasure made an effort to bridge the alternatives of reason and experience (a priori and a posteriori).

For the visual arts, Fuseli[61] represents the transitional phase between Classicism and Romanticism. Fuseli introduced the ideas of Storm and Stress to England. He painted violent and erotic scenes and based his compositions on outline, introducing the Mannerist technique of strong diagonals. Using low horizons and violent projection, his figures bolted into the direction of the sky. It was his attempt to get at the fantastic, the bizarre, wild and erotic.

Fuseli's well-known utterance "nature puts me out," is certainly against Romantic thought. Yet he ridiculed Benjamin West's theory that art should be a moral endeavour; i.e., the neoclassic stoic viewpoint which looked towards antiquity for exemplars of high-minded human behavior that could serve as moral paragons for the audience. Most of Fuseli's themes were satanic, perverse and erotic. He was the first to portray nightmares, dreams and effects of fear. Dreams were his personification of sentiment.

If we turn to Blake (1757-1827) we see a spirit who continued his protest well after the French Revolution. The quarrel between Blake and Reynolds,[62] exemplifies Romantic antagonism to classical theory. The essential difference lay in Blake's stress on particularizations (secondary qualities) as compared to Reynolds' generalizations (neoclassical axioms). The true being of man, was in Blake's mind, the Imagination. Intuitive immediacy (following Shaftesbury) was one of the distinguishing marks of Imagination. Imagination involved "no analysis" of the objects of knowledge. It was still "cognitive" but Blake considered it distinct from "reasoning." Rationalization led to generalization; this, for Blake, meant a life-less view of the world. Reasoning depreciated the "particulars" on the grounds that they were "accidental" or "unintelligible." For the "reasoner," every particular in nature was valuable only as an exemplification of its genus. For the "imaginative" person, on the other hand, knowledge was as vital as being, and therefore essentially as particular and "unrationalizable" as being. Immediately given intuitions of the mind were revelations of reality (truth) for Blake, and reasoning about them would only destroy their validity. Reynolds, as other neoclassicists, saw art pre-eminently as a mental activity. It was a search for truth.

Finally, if we turn to John Flaxman[63] (1755-1826), a sculptor and engraver who was a close friend of Blake, we see a continued protest against the Enlightenment. Flaxman reworked the deathbed motif which had been the favorite theme of eighteenth century neoclassicism. A classical figure like Socrates, was painted on his deathbed. A group of mourners usually surrounded the figures to induce an aura of gravity and seriousness. Flaxman's deathbed format eliminated all the pomp. His compositions were usually in pure outline on monochrome paper. Like Blake, he had consciously began to use water color rather than oil as a further protest against the materialization of exact history painting.

The social contradiction of capitalism becomes particularly lucid if we contrast the architectural schemes of Owen (1771-1858) and Bentham (1748-1832). Shortly after the failure of the French Revolution, Bentham and his chief apostle, James Mill, formed the Radical Party, which expounded a theory of Utilitarianism. The slogan "the greatest happiness of the greatest number"[64] was used to underline a supposed anti-aristocratic emphasis. Benthan borrowed this idea from the French philosopher Helvetius, who had exalted the mechanical laws of the Enlightenment. Utilitarianism - the belief that good and evil could be measured by the usefulness of actions in contributing to human happiness and welfare - was the perfect ideology of the middle class bourgeoisie.[65] Owen's utopianism presents a total contrast. His New Lanark experiment and his vision of Villages of Cooperation were based on socialist principles. Each of these villages was to be self-governing. Industrial activity was primarily carried on to produce the goods necessary for each village's subsistence. This was the first modern example of town planning to be worked out in detail from the political and economic principles of socialism.

France

The revolutionary era in France (1780-1800) was to stress classicism. Art shifted from the purely hedonistic Baroque and Rococo based on an Epicurean ethic, to a morally, philosophically conscious utilitarianism made possible by the acceptance of a new classicism in art. Stoic ethics became prevalent.[66] As in England the introduction of the so-called "archaeological classicism" of antiquity brought with it an anti-sensualism. Morals which strove for simplicity and sincerity were introduced. Simplification and the levelling down of aesthetic criteria signified the triumph of a new puritanical idealism directed against the hedonism of the courts.

The yearning for pure, clear-cut, uncomplicated lines, for regularity and discipline, harmony and rest, protest against the flexible, fluid charming colors and tones of the Rococo was fulfilled by a neoclassicist aesthetic. In architecture, for example, the ruin became the exemplar of the age. Fabriques - artificial gardens with ruins - became fashionable in France. As in England, a pre-Romantic Gothic wave hit before 1760. The excavations of Pompeii (1758), Herculaneum (1737) and Paestum[67] were the decisive stimuli for the new archaeological classicism. Antique collecting became a passion all over Europe; considerable sums were spent on classical works of art and everywhere collections of works of sculpture and of gems and vases were started. A journey to Italy was considered the mark of good breeding and considered essential to the training of young men.

This classical revival became the expressive tool of the Gironde. For this progressive class a purely hedonistic art would not have done. The artist had to be both a citoyen and a philosophe if he was to be a revolutionary. Art had to re-orient itself from sentimentalism towards a "heroic" phase. The bourgeoisie presented a morality of utility; a class which was frugal, hard working, useful and hence, opposed to a sybaritic upper class. They advocated the slogans of liberty, equality and fraternity; universals that artists could not refuse. They saw a new found freedom based on being a useful citizen. No contradiction existed between being free and being useful.

The artist became politically active. He was enlisted to propagate various ideals - a didactic role to promote patriotism and civic virtue. Moral codes governing love and family, became the new models. Asceticism became the handmaiden of the Revolution. Utility was goodness and asceticism a virtue. This heroism in the form of patriotism reworked itself from dying for the Church to dying for the King to dying for your nation, reflecting the Gironde desire for state control. Architecture as presented by Ledoux, reflected this heroic rationalism. It was based on pure undecorated cubes, cylinders, spheres, in equally simple relationships of wholes, halves and quarters; similar to David's neoclassicist renderings. The existing genre painting had its patronage, but it did not provide the necessary social force to exhibit patriotism and nationalism. Allegiance to the state was more important than allegiance to family.

The necessity of spreading the ideals of the Revolution was taken over by historical paintings. The classicist found in Greek history, the ideal expression of this ideal world; i.e., the heroic struggle for liberty, equality and fraternity, embodied in the Republic. Just as Louis XIV had seen his age as a reincarnation of Imperial Rome, so the haute bourgeoisie saw their ideals previsaged in the period of Roman Republic. Marat, Robespierre, Danton were linked with Brutus, the Gracchi and Horatii. Man was a heroic figure, an actor in a historical drama. The increase of deathbed scenes already common in England, symbolized "heroism" and historicism in general. From 1760 on, the exemplum virtutis[68] for the work of art was to teach a lesson in virtue - the iconographic choice was the preference given to events from Greece and Rome. David's Oath of the Horatii (1784) expressed perfectly the puritanical rationality of a bourgeois (high official, banker, merchant) prior to the Revolution. It was rigid, simple, sober and objective. During this time the artist became a self-conscious person aware of his importance and social role. Significantly, Rousseau's doctrine of the "general will," first expressed in 1782 was followed only three years later by the painter Anton Raphael Mengs' Reflection on Beauty and Taste, which stated that the beautiful was that which pleased the most people.

The first phase of the Revolution had been won by the aristocrats. The 1791 French constitution, under the guidance of Mirabeau, set up a limited monarchy controlled by the middle class. However, Louis XVI never wanted to relinquish his absolutism, even though the Girondists had control. The invasion of France by Austria and Prussia to support the king was to settle the issue. It resulted in Robespierre's "reign of terror." This was the turning point of French reactionism and the point where English Jacobin sympathizers lost faith in bourgeois rule.

After a brief period of socialism,[69] the "constitutional rule" of the Directoire (1795-1799) followed. Abolishing the Terror, it attempted to institute government by law. The Directoire were essentially bourgeois. They turned their backs on the republican ideal and puritan standards of beauty. The Academy began to commission pacifist works during this post-Revolution period. David's Rape of the Sabines documented the heroic moment when Hersilia intervened between the battling Romans and Sabines and pleaded for an end to the bloodshed. Similar themes were presented by Jean-Jacques-Francois Vincent. L'Agriculture (1798) presents a Rousseauian lesson on agricultural virtue; the tutor (the administrator of Natural Law) was a wealthy merchant from Bordeaux taking his family, specifically his son, to watch a farmer till the soil. Girodet's visual ideology represented the contradictions of this period. It was a mixture of classicism and romanticism of this time. Like Fuseli, in England, Girodet couples the sentimentalism sought in nature which expressed moods of pathos, sublimity, the macabre, with a historical realism to point to a moral.[70]

Unable to maintain themselves securely against the attacks by Robespierre's followers on one side and royalists on the other, the Directoire ushered in Napoleon's rule. Napoleon further pushed back the achievements of the Revolution. "Napoleonic art" was dedicated to the myth of an empirical rule embodying virtues that ranged from patriotic sacrifice to establishment of welfare homes. He was presented as a synthesis of the New Christ and the Roman Emperor. David, now his court painter, painted him in a courtly style - a surfeit of spectators and actors, a decor of gold and velvet pomp. This was symbolic of the lavishness of the Roman Empire not the sobriety of the Roman Republic which had dominated revolutionary imagery. The propaganda that the very rich were constantly helping the very poor, whose early forms are to be seen in the Church donations of the fifteenth century, received a quantifiable revival. For example, Gros painted many works of Napoleonic mercy. Humanitarian themes abounded.

Gericault's (1791-1824) activity falls within the last phase of Napoleon's rule and the reign of Louis XVIII. This was the time of the Restoration, when the return of the Bourbon rule and the aristocratic émigrés introduced a period of liberalism, since they were worried about their money interests in a time of social unrest. The period 1812-1830 represents the struggle of Romanticism against the enlightenment of the Bourbon rule. This was a repeat performance of England's position in the eighteenth century, only this time the actors had benefitted from the lessons learned from England.

Géricault essentially adopted British empiricist epistemology to present a visual ideology contra to the Bourbon rule. His chef d'oeuvre was The Raft of the Medusa (1819),[71] a picture deliberately intended to be anti-monarchical, a liberal monument to laissez-faire. The subject was chosen by the artist at least partly to make a direct attack on the restored monarchy of Louis XVIII by assailing the incompetence of the captain of the wrecked ship Medusa, who was a political appointee. Gericault used an empirical approach for this work. He questioned the survivors minutely and portrayed each one of them with their features marked by intense suffering. He studied corpses and the sick in hospitals. He even had a model made by the craftsman who built the raft and went to the coast to observe its movement afloat on the waves, studying at the same time, atmospheric effects and formation of clouds over the sea.

Revolution of 1830 and 1848: The Second Republic

Charles X, who had ascended the throne in 1824, attempted to restore the social relations which had existed prior to the 1792 Revolution. He placed the Church in control of the educational system; he limited the electoral process, issued royalist decrees and generally attempted to amass power. Finally, he issued a decree which proved to be his last one. The barricades went up, the small government force was attacked by students, workers and petty middle class republicans. Four days later Charles X fled, closing the period of the restored Bourbon monarchy.

Delacroix's Liberty Guiding the People (1831), represented the ideology of this revolution.[72] Liberty was presented as a woman of the people, simply part of the crowd that surrounded her. Liberty was more like a peasant girl than a countess. Furthermore, the so-called alliance between the people and bourgeoisie was represented as it would have been during the fighting; in this picture the people outnumber the bourgeoisie.

Prints and lithographs flowed from the presses picturing these Glorious Days. The bourgeoisie had fought tyranny and had fought for a constitution, reviving the 1789 tradition. With victory assured, the result was the assumption of power by the "citizen-king," Louis-Philippe. Louis-Philippe was a good family man of royal blood, but most of all, sympathetic to business and industrial interests. At first he professed a number of liberal ideas; soon however, his true colors showed. With his reign, the bourgeoisie solidified their power politically. Economic spectators, ruthless entrepreneurs became identified with the interests of the "citizen-king." He assisted these members in helping themselves to the public and private wealth of France while the workers and peasants continued to put up with long hours, unemployment and bad housing.

The opposition to the haute bourgeoisie came from the Republicans, social reformers of various ideologies and radical students. It was from this group that we find a petty-bourgeois in service of the haute bourgeoisie and a proletariat subject to both classes. Among the opposition was Charles Philipon, a publisher of the newspaper Charivari. Philipon was a Republican and like Hogarth and Rowlandson in England before him, the first political cartoonist in Paris. It was he who hired Daumier, whose bitter satire and political cartooning was especially evident in his work Gargantua (1831). Louis-Philippe was portrayed as the gluttonous hero of Rabelais' book. His head was drawn in the shape of a pear (the slang for pear - poire, meant "fat head," or "blockhead," and was a revolutionary symbol of the time). The king sat on a toilet instead of a throne; his excrements (the digested tribute of the poor) were the awards which his faithful sycophants, emerging from the stock-exchanges, eagerly deposited in their banks. Political cartoons such as this were a dangerous tool. Criminal charges were brought against Daumier and he had to serve a six month prison sentence, but upon his release he continued to make direct attacks on the government.

Daumier was the son of a glass-maker from Marseilles. A petty bourgeois, he had an artisan identity - proud, literate and often literary, well-read, living in a tight-knit community. The artisans were radical - the most bitter victims of French industrialization. They were the first proletariat, the leaders on the barricade. Not only had they lost their jobs but also the status and respect paid to them for a precious skill. They lost a whole culture of their own.

Like Daumier's father, many ended up in an asylum or a workhouse as destitutes. Daumier's vision ranged through many life-styles, but he did not represent the haute bourgeoise or fashionable Paris. His vision centered on the Assembly and the Catholic reactionists. His satire was symbolized by Ratapoil (1850), the great Napoleonic hustler, a hand-to-mouth demagogue - with a smashed tall hat; he looked like an old soldier, ex-crook, - a man who bought the votes and beat up the opponents for the Emperor.[73]

The symbol of the clown and the beggar reinforced the failure of the Revolutions. Parisian streets accommodated clowns, popular entertainers, a mass of itinerants - like tumblers, singers, puppeteers, sellers of patent medicine; all these conveyed a sense of tragedy. They were considered dangerous and were persecuted by the state. In 1849, the Government declared war on the saltimbanques - the entertainers of the People. They had become, in the Ministers' and Perfects' fantasy, the first teachers of subversion, singers of socialist ballads and sellers of Communist broadsheets.[74]

In February 1848 more trouble occurred. The barricades manned by a loose coalition of students, workers, middle class liberals with republic sympathizers, finally overthrew Louis-Philippe. Journalist freedom prevailed and universal suffrage for adult males was established. To promote the arts, the new provisional assembly sponsored a national competition for a work which was to represent the symbol for the new order. French middle class thought that its position was finally consolidated. Daumier took part in this competition (The Republic) as did the radical painter Jearon, who had organized the competition, and Millet. Daumier, however, was an opponent of the leftist revolution of June 1848 which marked the final break of the middle class radicals with the extreme Left and he made particular fun of the socialists in 1849 in a series of ten sheets entitled *Les Femmes Socialistes*.

Daumier had attempted to represent the corruption of the State. The positions of Delacroix and Ingres represent still another level of struggle, that between Romantic and Classical tenents. Delacroix, as a wealthy aristocrat was sympathetic to the petty bourgeoisie who had not yet won a place in the revolution, while Ingres was the restorer of classicism to French painting. Ingres was the repressive director of the French Academy in Rome. His representation of Napoleon after the Restoration was a work of durability and finality: values of precision and authority advocated by the Napoleonic regime.

Delacroix's vision represents a romantic biocentric view (like Turner in England, who had a great influence on his style). His *Journal*[75] often spoke of Nature as a "Dictionary" and consistently integrated these observations, especially in terms of color and light, into his paintings. Delacroix claimed that the imagination alone (described as a delicate organ that makes one see what other do not see) was the key to his new vision (hence, corresponding to the British Romantic aesthetic of Blake). In many ways, Delacroix could be called the forerunner of the art-for-art's sake movement. He enjoyed solitude but when he entered into society he was a picture of aristocratic aloofness, impeccable manner, bearing and appearance. *Eight* times he applied for membership to l'Académie des Beaux-Arts, yet he refused to change his style. In his later years, Delacroix abandoned society almost completely and like most Romantics, he questioned the progress of industrialization; believing that man was mastering his environment but not controlling himself. Yet, although Delacroix seemed, at least in a few journal entries, to be deeply concerned about mechanization and the growing industrial society which was slowly leading people away from Nature, and was opposed to the degradation and coldness of the factory society, his paintings did not however reflect this concern. His "Journal" does not present him as egalitarian in any sense, but rather aware of his own superiority. "Liberty" for Delacroix represented an individualistic, laissez-faire approach. "The Liberty brought by battles is not really liberty which consists of coming and going in peace, pursuing one's thoughts and so on...," he wrote. "Political liberty is the great phrase used, in fact, to justify the sacrifice of the most real liberty there is, that of the mind, that of the soul." (May 28, 1848)

For all the talk about an art style for the Republic, one did not materialize. There was talk of new state patronage, armies of painters, and an end to individualism, a new beginning of artistic democracy. All this failed primarily because the 1848 Revolution had meant the collapse of the art market. The State became more than ever a charitable organization. Attempts to restructure the system of patronage, to break the power of nobles and institute a form of workers' control, came to naught. The Bureau des Beaux-Arts stayed vulnerable to political pressures; the purchase of pictures was still a reward for services rendered. Charles Blanc,[76] who was

9

Directeur des Beaux-Arts for most of the Second Republic, tried to end the stranglehold of the notables over state patronage by ending individualism in the arts, reviving paintings on a grand scale as murals for railway stations, frescoes for temples and palaces of the New Republic, investing in lithographs and engravings by the State to propagate its message to the countryside, setting up projects for industrial architects and getting sculpture back to a public role. But in 1850, he was dismissed and replaced by a Bonapartist.

This failure was not unexpected. Politics of the Republic changed day to day and so did the political image. The idea of a public art never came to focus. Inside the Bureaux des Arts there was a confusion as to what sort of art was needed. Political allegory, scenes from Biblical sculpture, or landscape paintings, were possibilities which were never acted on. Bare economics was against any art beginning anew; prices slumped as the bourgeoisie bought no paintings. The most favored subject between 1848-1850 was the landscape and this was primarily because it was supported and patronized by the local gentry.

Realism

Among Daumier's artistic friends were several members of the realistic Barbizon School which took its name from the village of Barbizon in the forest of Fontainebleau. The Barbizon group represented a proletariat in the hinterland whose conscientization had begun when their group had not benefitted from the Second Empire. Everywhere else landless peasants managed to buy a plot of ground for growing vines, but the Barbizon were forest people. Their economic existence was different. The gap between country and city was most evident here. The Barbizon forest marked the area where plain met forest. Its inhabitants were the proletariat of the woods; having no land, they relied on faggots gathered and gleaning rights for their livelihood. Millet represented the contradiction between this forest group and the city. "He had to suggest work was tragic...as well as ordinary."[77] His work presented the case for the country peasants with no land. Courbet, his contemporary, presented the contradictions of the country bourgeoisie.

Courbet[78] played the boheme - a rustic and seemingly a non-threatening element to the bourgeoisie, yet this was all a front. Courbet surrounded himself with the best intellectuals of Paris, possessing a thorough knowledge of Parisian arts. Champfleury, the bohemian novelist, critic of art, literature and music, coined his style Realism; the nub of this Realism was that he portrayed the specific event, not a general theme. This was a development which paralleled changes occurring in the communication industry. During the Second Empire the circulation of newspapers increased from forty-seven thousand in 1824 to two hundred thousand in 1846. Advertisements and the serial novel was introduced. Short, abrupt new items began to compete with detailed reports. A feuilleton section was introduced which was filled with city gossip and theatrical intrigues.[79]

Realism, as Courbet perceived it, embodied the struggle between town and country. The countryside had too many people and not enough land. The real enemies they saw, were the town bourgeois. The town bourgeois gave their country counterparts low prices for their food; it was the town lawyers who drew up the usurer's contract or who did their own lending from the profits of peasant litigations.[80] When Courbet showed his works in Paris, they were meant for the Paris peasantry, who lived in the banlieue. This classe dangereuse could identify with his works. Not an industrial proletariat, they were composed of people who kept flooding in from the country. They had to fight for a position in the city, retaining their own customs and dress, hence maintaining a distinct identity.

The bourgeoisie renewed itself from the countryside, not from the ranks of the Parisian working class. The typical mid-nineteenth century bourgeois was a merchant or shopkeeper whose father had been a peasant turned self-made man in a village. Thirty percent of Parisian shopkeepers were of rural origins and most of them from modest provincial families.[81]

Courbet never transcended his bourgeois origins. His "war" was primarily waged against Romanticism; he was more sympathetic towards industrialization than against its horrors. For example, he rejected museums but praised the new railway stations as potential museums for large paintings which could no longer "fit" in the bourgeois homes. Large paintings were to be done on an assembly line method. "Let one paint the forests, another the plains, others the rivers and sea shores."[82] A strong nationalist, Courbet saw the realistic style as representing the realities of "trade in colonial wares" of the Second Empire.

Courbet took part in the Paris Commune of 1871. He was elected to its Communal Council and became its Educational Commissioner. In this sense his political radicalism had almost no relation to his early art and its patronage. When Napoleon's statue was removed from the Place Vendôme, Courbet was implicated, yet he had insisted that the statue was to be carefully transported and a plaque placed there instead. Like William Morris, in England, Courbet had become a socialist too late in his life to have reworked his artistic beliefs. Courbet had never been a threat to the bourgeoisie. It was the l'art pour l'art movement which presented the critique of industrialism.

German Romanticism and Critical Theory

Rationalism never took a hold in Germany; the intelligentsia were just too backward. In the course of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the middle class lost their economic and political influences; consequently the German princes had their way. Submissiveness and unquestioning loyalty made it possible for any cringing philistine to think of himself as the servant of a "higher idea."[83] The German princes confirmed "divine right" and preached Lutheranism and imported their baroque ideas from the French court.

The middle class intelligentsia, consisting of subordinate officials, school masters, poets shut off from the practice of power, lost contact with social reality and became purely contemplative and speculative. When the bourgeoisie did develop their own culture (ca. 1750) a unique situation arose. The bourgeoisie accepted rationalism, while the intelligentsia maintained their idealism. The intellectual was caught between supporting the rationalism of the bourgeoisie or throwing in his lot with the Storm and Stress movement who claimed that reality was inexplicable and incalcuable. This inadvertently gave support to the ruling class who wanted a diversion from the reality they had created. They encouraged this "commotion" because by promoting the idealization of problems, the revolutionary tendencies of the intellectual segment and middle class sector would be fobbed off on an ideological instead of a practical problem. Thus developed a philosophy of contempt for empirical reality based on timeless, infinite or eternal principles. Kantian dualism of phenomenon/noumena presented this contradiction. Since any serious struggle for the achievement of democracy was so far away, it was possible to maintain a critical spirit. In contrast to the optimistic rationalism of the French, which had used the neoclassic form for its revolutionary bouts, Germany attempted to offer a clearer version of the real inadequacies of the bourgeois individualist social order emerging in Europe. This was why the Kantian system has been called "critical philosophy."

Kant's[84] achievement goes beyond rationalism and the empiricism of Hume. His system stands at the beginnings of an art for art's sake hypothesis which is to say, the rejection of arts affiliation with "practice," releasing it as pure theoretical contemplation.

Because Germany was a "sick" society all the great German philosophical systems started out with the problem of morals. This was what Kant meant when he spoke of the "practical." The "practical" was speculative. In order for Kant to go beyond monadology, which envisioned only individual actors with no interdependence, and empiricism, which claimed only facts resulting from habit, Kant introduced the notion of Totality - an ideal state hoped for in the future. This transcendence was sought for, not in the individual, but in the community. It was man's categorical imperative to strive towards this ideal goal. Reason became the communicable mental faculty which led humanity to strive towards the realization of its highest ends.

Because man communicated, argued Kant, experience must have categories for understanding. The unity of transforming the immediately given into communicable knowledge takes place at a higher level than does either rationalism or empiricism. Kant further argued that knowledge was always relative. Man was always working at the level of appearance; the thing-in-itself could only be known by an intellectual intuition. We were destined forever to strive to know the thing-in-itself; to grasp the totality which was the cause of appearances.

In biology, the knowledge of the organic world required that the whole be determined by its parts, but the parts in their functioning and connections also determined the whole. The only way to understand the whole, the totality, was to know its conclusion - to know the goal intrinsic to nature. This could be possible in biology, Kant said, but not so with man because there would be no need for a higher understanding. The ought for a better world must be preserved.

Kant introduced the category of reason to mind in order to supplement sensibility and understanding but in doing so he was left with a dualism. Mind could never grasp the noumenal world. He concluded that man could however do this subjectively in aesthetic experience. This has been the taking off point of all aesthetic systems based on Kantian phenomenology. Aesthetics in his system became a humanization of the transcendent: the apotheosis of man through the imagination. Beauty was now a unity of the imagination and understanding; hence, it was the experiencing of the thing-in-itself subjectively.

Kant also retained the notion of sublimity, a necessity if he was to include reason as a category of mind in his aesthetic system. Sublimity became the relation of the imagination and reason. Both beauty and sublimity, however, were subject to "practical" judgment in relation to man's authentic destiny. Hence, axiology was the overriding dimension of his aesthetics. The notions of interest and motivation were to be added by post-Kantian phenomenologists.

Friedrich Schiller[85] (1759-1805) presented a slight advance over Kant's aesthetic theory. He stood one step away from the Romantic "solution." Schiller's raw material for his drama was the class privileges and corruptions at the court of Wurttemberg. His plays dealt with the inertia of the middle classes, whose escape was in the authority of the aristocracy. It is no accident that in 1937 his plays were the second most popular classic on the German stage.

Schiller's system of aesthetics was a three part dialectic. First, there was Nature, then there was the antagonism of forces which disintegrated the human personality and finally, a resolution into a renewed wholeness which was a perfection of man yet to come.

This dialectic was to overcome the two separate worlds man found himself in; the world of Nature which represented the realm of phenomena and demanded feelings and the world of reason, where there was a unity of form. To make the irrational, rational, that is moral, to harmonize these separate existences was to experience Beauty. It was in Beauty that the matter and form of sensuousness and reason harmonized. How this task was to be accomplished was never spelled out in this, The Aesthetic Education of Man (1793). In short, for Schiller, art was a product of the play instinct, obedient only to the imagination. It made "beautiful dreams."

Kant's dualism was transcended by the romanticism of Fichte, Schelling, Goethe and Hegel. German "romantic idealist philosophy rejected Kantian dualism and developed an organic and vitalist concept of the world "by extending the mystical notion of union in God to all nature, and superposing it on the philosophy of Spinoza, who saw mind and the external world as two manifestation of the divine, differing in form but alike in essence."[86]

Organicism introduced the notion that mind was the creative and directive element of the world. Hegel claimed that reason could penetrate the world, abolishing the thing-in-itself. Mind became subject and object at once. Reality was explained as the logical development of ideas; for Hegel, an objective idealism. This organic "metaphor" introduced a dynamic concept of the world. Its goal was liberty cast as a manifestation of divinity in the world, which corresponded to the political and social aspirations of the German bourgeoisie. Such thinking introduced the notion of dialectics rather than a metaphysical dualism. The unity and interdependence of mind and matter, organic and inorganic meant that ideas, facts and things had to be linked by an intermediate term. Dialectics was "evolutionary" while metaphysics was dualistic and static. However, Kantian transcendence now had to be replaced by a notion of immanence. History was immanent. God was placed inside the system. The notion of contradiction and opposition as we saw in Schiller's aesthetic system became the primary mover.

Organistic aesthetic theories became more and more "objective." Spirit was progressively seen as concrete. The systems of Fichte through to Hegel represent this movement from an "absolute idealism, which denied the external world any objective reality, to a more realistic [objective] idealism that strove to integrate the spirit into a world that keeps its concrete character."[87]

Fichte represented the hope of the bourgeois future. His path was towards an apologia for the existing order and away from the potentialities of the human community which Kant had suggested. Fichte reduced revolutionary action strictly to the activity of reason as the moral will, retaining Kant's dualism expressed as Ego and Non-Ego. But here the Non-Ego was a creation and expression of the Ego. By constantly pitting a Non-Ego against itself which is continually overcome, the Ego gained an ever-increasing autonomy. The Ego understood itself and became aware of itself through its relation to the Non-Ego, its own creation of Nature.

If we followed the aesthetic thoughts of Schelling, wherein the Middle Ages were stressed as the time when truth and freedom were incarnate to an even more objective idealism, we would arrive at Hegel. Basic to this approach was the notion that man was superior to nature since animal and inorganic nature were presumed incapable of formulating an ideal. Hegel was able to overcome Kant's dualism by introducing a developmental sequence into the growth of art as it moved towards the Absolute which manifested itself in the Prussian State.[88] The telos of history was the attainment of the rational, that point in time when man was fully aware of his place and role in the world. Only the rational was the real and what was "practical" was rational. The acorn had to become the oak. Art was therefore an expression of man's growth towards rationalization. Although its place was well behind Religion and Philosophy, the highest disciplines, it could still provide crucial insights into the functions of thought and the nature of the Absolute. The role of the artist was to organize sense objects in such a way that they would call attention to the indicative nature of sense perceptions. So art was to be an intellectual work which penetrated the surface to show the true rationality of reality. Hegel introduced the notion of "collision" and "conflict" to show how art was to do this. It was no accident that he had argued that poetry was the highest of all the arts. Poetry could "unfold all the conditions of an event;" it could unify a series of events and actions requiring the artist to have a great knowledge of human psychology and sociology. It was with Hegel that the tripart dialectic of protagonist, antagonist and denouement were explored.

Hegel's philosophy marked the high point of German Romantic philosophy. Although it had presented a dynamic view of change, this change was still introduced by a force outside itself - the absolute Idea, which existed in itself for all eternity. It was the cause and goal at the same time. This made his system a closed one and akin to the old static world-view. This was not evolution, but involution, a compromise between dynamic and static world-views which ended as an apologia for the Prussian state and Christian ideal as the final forms of the absolute Idea. Three alternatives presented themselves. The Hegelian school split into Right, Middle, Left. The Middle kept the dualism of the State and Religion, expanding on Hegel's work. The Right felt that he had not gone far enough with his religious convictions, while the Left expressed the political and social aims of the bourgeoisie, clamouring for a new materialism, a positivism which had already developed in industrialized France and England. This Left further subdivided itself. One group of thinkers left the conservative bourgeoisie and turned to the proletariat. This is the well-known development from Feuerbach to Marx. Feuerbach reversed Hegel's philosophy, developing a mechanist materialism. Marx, on the other hand, developed the philosophy of praxis. The other group, headed by Strauss and Bauer, placed their attack on religion.

Schopenhauer (1788-1860) also presented a radical critique,[89] a reverse noumenal world. What was Real was not Reason but Unreason - the Will. Man was still caught in a relativism. Science and common observation only dealt with the phenomenal world, but the twist Schopenhauer gave to the noumenal world was to see it as Unreason. It was an irrational force; what he called a Will. From this notion, later phenomenologists were to interpret environment and stimuli as "brutal" phenomena. With Schopenhauer, rational order, through the human brain, sprang from disorder, from the dynamic substance negatively defined by absence of intellect and purpose. The Will was devoid of sense and aim. Notions of "violent" praxis come from his philosophy; i.e., man must impose order on stubborn disorder. The world became a continual striving - an eternal unsatisfied hunger. It was evil. Ethics were cast in polar opposites. Pleasure had to be accompanied by pain.

Probably the most developed "Right" position was articulated, not by a German but by Kierkegaard[90] in Copenhagen who saw the world in a decline, losing its religious convictions. Kierkegaard developed an "indirect" dialectic. Truth could not be taught directly because the age had lost its capacity to apprehend the truth. The truth could only be revealed indirectly. Kierkegaard played a game with pseudonyms, presenting a diversity of changing, dramatically executed figures which put together, would give one the sense of truth. The presupposition was that each figure said something true; each proclaimed a part of the truth. One never reached the essence but one could have a "sense" of it.

Kierkegaard's analysis of reality called for three primary stages, aesthetic, ethical and religious, through which man evolved to be "an individual." Surprisingly enough, it was his aesthetic works which gave him public acclaim basically because they portrayed a man who was a seducer, seeking only personal pleasure. Life was lived only on the surface of the "now" with no regard for past or future. This was possible because death was hidden from the person's perspective. This aesthetic life was divorced from any moral or ethical considerations which life would have to involve. When one became conscious of other men in society than the responsibility for developing the "self" would lead towards the next step - the ethical stage. The ethical person does not only think of his own welfare but also what is good for universal man. A universal ethic based on universal law would provide the guidelines for his behavior. To reach the religious stage the individual had to rise above the universally valid and subordinate himself to God.

The position which rooted itself in Germany was the dual idealism of Solger, Schleiermacher and Schopenhauer.[91] Schleiermacher's inability to overcome Kantian dualism forced him to expand upon Kant's category of understanding (Verstehen) as a hermeneutic circle. In this sense the hermeneutic circle represented Kiergegaard's indirect method. Understanding was basically a referential operation where one understood something by comparing it to what one knows. This gave Kant's a priori categories a dynamic process rather than the static number, 12, which he had discovered. Immediate knowledge was given in process terms; a reconstructive phenomenal world was possible, but the noumenal world remained inaccessible. In sum, the German Romantic movement should be seen as an attempt to find the authentic self which was hidden beneath a mask. Authenticity could not be found in the industrialized world, a condition which clearly was becoming prevalent all over Europe. In an unstable world, value could only be found in self, but this self was the unconscious noumenal self not found in one's everyday life. The ambiguity and terror of a meaningless world meant that one had to impose value. All value was to be found in one's art; an irrational world was immoral and it could only be made rational by creating art.

Aesthetic Consciousness During the Transition to Capitalism Based on Coal and Oil

The architecture of the nineteenth century was without a style mainly because the upper classes refused to accept the machine, or iron, brick and glass as basic materials for design. Architecture was thus a continental adaptation of past designs for present use. As Pevsner noted "associational values [were] the only values in architecture accessible to the new ruling class."[92] The Houses of Parliament in London, England were a Gothic reaction to the Palladian manneristic style. In 1850, the Royal Panopticon of Science and Art built for itself in Leicester Square the finest example of Moorish architecture ever erected in England. Grecian, Palmyran, Roman, Egyptian fads became dominant. The Victorian Age mixed styles indiscriminately. "Lantern watch-towers of a baronial castle were placed in juxtaposition with Doric columns employed for chimneys, while under oriel windows might be observed Italian doorways with Grecian pediments."[93]

The transition from a developmental organic metaphor to an evolutionary metaphor can be illustrated when we consider the differences between J. M. Turner (1775-1851) and John Martin (1789-1854), artists prior to 1830, and John Constable (1776-1837) presenting the visual ideology of the new progressive class. All three artists exhibited at the Royal Academy. Martin's vision belonged to the expression of the sublime brought on by early industry. He drew "great sea-dragons" reconstructed by the palaeontologists, and illustrated the mysteries of desert, jungle, mines and aqueducts, the Pyramids, the Caves of Elphanta. His was an apocalyptic view; illustrating Milton's Paradise Lost, he clearly identified Satan with the new powers of industry.[94] Turner was also a Romantic, but his vision embodied the contradictions of the new emerging industrial society coupled with a new middle class public which included lawyers, bankers, linen-drapers, merchants, authors, physicians and clergymen. This public had already established itself in literature much earlier. Now, around 1790, it had absorbed itself into the visual arts and the Academy. There was of course, a significant decline of aristocratic patrons. His vision was at the beginning very patriotic. He loved ships and seamen, painting commemorative naval engagements of the wars; but soon he began to have doubts about commerce and the national character as aids to his art. His work split essentially into two parts, in two different mediums. With his engravings he continued the picturesque motif which sold so well. The peaceful countryside was presented, complete with customary ruins. When it came to his painting, he combined the allegory of classicism and the ravages of Nature; the catastrophe, storms and elemental violence symbolized the true nature of societal conflict.

Turner's theory of color was extremely close to Goethe's Theory of Colours, a book which he had read and made remarks on.[95] Goethe had based his spectrum on a chromatic circle divided into plus and minus color: the reds, yellows and greens were associated with happiness, gaiety and warmth while the blues, blue-greens and purples produced restless, suspicious and anxious impressions. Color was related to life-process. A polarity was maintained much like Turner's own struggle with light and dark. In Goethe's system a combination of two colors diametrically opposed in the color-cycle produced a harmonious effect; it was a synthesis of opposites. The analogy to Hegel is obvious. Turner agreed to the principle which claimed that "every single opposition in order to be harmonious must comprehend the whole." He had underlined Goethe's principle in his book.[96]

Turning to Constable[97] we find a re-occurrence of a seventeenth century phenomenon, the artist-scientist. Constable was always interested in the science of geology, the science of structures and the study of cloud formation. He pronounced in his lectures that all pictures should be scientific experiments. His works appear as specific places, almost as if one could name the spot. Truth to nature, the positivism of this entire period, was marked by the artist stepping out of his studio into the real world, introducing a completely new palette.[98] It might be added that Constable did not always follow his own rules of "natural philosophy." He added elements which "improved" the picture. Where there was sludge from coal mines, he eliminated it and placed a pond instead. Unlike Turner, who was self taught, Constable had a good deal of business sense. His parents owned a mill, and he himself regarded both his pictures and money he inherited as property which was to be held in trust for his children.[99]

7

Constable leaned towards the new positivism created by scientific disciplines based on an evolutionary metaphor. In this sense he was a transitional figure. Others like William Morris and the Pre-Raphaelites were "locked" into early Romantic generic organicism from which they could not free themselves despite their strong socialist leanings.

In his monumental biographical study of William Morris, E. P. Thompson[100] traced Morris' conversion to socialism. In his early years, Morris was affiliated with the Pre-Raphaelites who, along with Ruskin at this time, consistently developed a Medievalism which longed for the values of heroism, beauty, high endeavour and love, values which had been lost due to the "philistines'" love of profit and because of the utility of the industrial age.[101]

> Disraeli and Lord John Manners, the Tory Young Englanders, dreamt of feudal ideas taking shape in the form of an alliance between the aristocracy and the proletariat (the inheritors of the peasantry) in opposition to the manufacturers and speculators.[102]

Beauty was not to be found in reality. "It belonged to a world of artifice, art and imagination."[103] The Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood presented a curious contradiction during this time. They were simultaneously caught in a scientific naturalism and a Medieval moralism. They presented "noble-subjects" usually cast in religious themes in the most naturalistic-scientific way conceivable.[104] Yet Burne-Jones declared, "The more materialistic science becomes, the more angels shall I paint."[105] This, in a sense, echoed the tragedy of William Morris, whose artistic theory and practice were never to meet. To the end Morris said the artist had to "Look Back." Despite the creation of the Firm where he waged a war on shoddiness, stressed honesty of materials and sound workmanship and despite his attempt to revive lost craft movements and eliminate the distinction between designer and craftsman, his forms remained tied to the Romantic metaphor.

Morris did not become a socialist until 1880; before that time he was well liked and respected by rich bourgeois patrons. His Anti-Scrape (the preservation of old buildings) programme (ca. 1878) was the beginning of his road to socialism. It involved him in capitalistic property sanctions and ecclesiastical property rights and made him re-evaluate history through his reading of Capital. In 1883 he became a socialist.

Contradictions still persisted. He almost never executed the designs he drew. If he finished a weaving or a stained-glass window, it was usually a test case. His workmen would do the duplication. Fifty percent of his works were executed not by his own Merton Abbey workshops, but given as contracts to other firms.[106] Morris was never able to overcome his romanticism. His wallpaper and carpet designs of flowers, animals, fruit, suggesting dense growth, clearly fell within organic Romantic metaphor.[107]

The challenge in the decorative arts came from A. W. Pugin and Owen Jones who avoided the natural prototypes such as flowers, fruit and animals. In 1868, Owen Jones' Grammar of Ornament laid the foundations of that movement in the decorative arts known as Art Nouveau in France; Jugendstil or Sezession in Germany. The stress on a seductive, hence liberating design based upon curvilinear decoration was a move away from the cultured naturalism of nineteenth century decoration and from Biedermeir. It did away with picturesque details that had "flowered" in Gothicism. Highly stylized line retained the floral "sweep" but introduced a new geometricism. Its inspiration came from nature, but already a formalism was being introduced. The Japanese style greatly enhanced this movement. It was the beginning of an impending functionalism since it was married to architectural design as well.

Owen Jones argued that, "All ornament should be based on geometrical construction," and began to use color geometrically according to the law of color-perspective; i.e., blue retires, yellow advances and red is intermediate. Jones used only primary colors in small areas while the German Jugendstil was heavily geometric.[108] Decoration, thereafter, became progressively functional. In 1897, Eugene Crasset lectured in Paris, that, "...the form of an object must be adapted to the use of the object, and not be altered by ornamentation."[109]

Aesthetic Consciousness During Industrialization Based on Coal, Oil and Gas (1830-1880)

The period 1830-1880 saw the development of a new breed of man. Trade unions were legalized in 1824 and the complexity of capitalism began to change. Strikes caused a large increase in the instalment of self-acting machines. Competition between capitalists increased. Each new spurt in expansion forced the weaker bourgeoisie to fall out from the ranks while the survivors strengthened their position. The years between 1815 and 1851, from Waterloo until the Great Exhibition, were marked by four major economic crises.[110] The depressions and distresses of the workers increased. The Chartists made headway for industrial reform; while they were active (1837-1842), coal production increased fivefold, pig-iron tenfold. Import of cotton increased fifteenfold. With the expansion of the railroad during the age of Chartists not only did production increase yet again, but it brought the country nearer to the town. It energized punctuality, discipline and attention.

The enterprize which summed up the entire epoch was the Great Exhibition of All Nations. Joseph Paxton's Crystal Palace opened on May 1, 1851. Paxton, landscape gardener and builder of greenhouses, made use of structural principles that he had derived from his knowledge of organic structure of plant forms, specifically the Victoria Regia lily-pad.[111] The building represented the model of commercial enterprize at its height. To build it required the knowledge of legal and monetary transactions and knowledge of how to coordinate special craftsmen under the leadership of a superintendent so that they would act like a "well-devised machine, being at the same time maintained in perfect control."[112] Thousands of artisans were employed; each ignorant of each other's craft, each laboring to realize the will of one directing mind.

All this happened in the wake of ever-worsening conditions for the workers. In the great industrial cities like Manchester, the average age of death was 38 for a professional person and the gentry and their families; 20 years for tradesmen and their families; 17

years for mechanical laborers and their families; while in rural areas of Rutlandshire, corresponding figures were 52, 41, 38.[113]

The Evolutionary Metaphor

James Mill's utilitarian ethics had argued that happiness was a commodity which required free competition of goods;[114] man found happiness only through goods. Furthermore, men acted rationally in pursuit of these goods. All these conditions, according to J. S. Mill, were not met in the nineteenth century world. Private property and inheritance assured this situation. J. S. Mill called these disturbing causes "social economy" or sociology (1836). His own attempt to overcome this inadequacy was presented in his System of Logic (1843) wherein he attempted to derive all logical and scientific propositions from observation and deductive generalizations rather than rationalistic deductions or intuitions of metaphysical systems. Induction from particular to particular introduced generalizations and probabilities. Laws of natural causation were discovered. Psychology became the logical principle which regulated the association of sense data, from which ethology was founded. Such psychology was needed for the growing commodity market wherein probabilities gave the business community some idea of what the masses could be persuaded to purchase.

The second part of the century saw a tremendous growth in the geological, sociological and anthropological sciences. In 1857, the Anthropological Society of London was founded; in 1863 the Society of London was operable.[115] In 1884, W. C. Taylor became the first Reader in Anthropology at Oxford. By 1903 Sociology was a subject at the London School of Economics.

Sociology as a discipline had been developed by Comte in France. He had established a developmental system wherein he saw man's progress from theology through metaphysics, culminating in positive science. Human nature was thus seen as historically conditioned. No single generalization about human nature and human wants could be universally valid. Axioms of a deductive science did not exist. This functionalism was to be the dominant ideology of social science. Industry was growing at a fantastic rate. Theories of social change preoccupied intellectual ideologies. Social laws, distinct from individual human nature were needed to map out where society was travelling. The result was an evolutionary social theory which arose to emulate in the study of society the achievements of biology, geology and philology. Evolutionary theory was to state that mankind was one, not because human nature was the same everywhere, but because the differences represented different stages in the same process. Calling such a process progressive meant that this evolutionary social theory could be converted into a moral and political ideal. It avoided the unpleasant relative implications which were appearing. Contrary to organicism, in evolutionary theory man was no longer different from the animal; he was merely more evolved. The animal brain and the human brain were bridged by a wholly naturalistic theory of mental activities. Mind became an epi-phenomenon of Nature; human history became a tiny fraction of a larger natural history.

The fundamental assumption of utilitarianism had been that man was a rational individual who had certain egotistical wants. Through a contemplation of his situation he selected the proper means to ends in a scientific manner. However, these ends did not come under the scrutiny of reason. The choice of means may have been reasonable or unreasonable, scientific (logical) or unscientific. Ends were therefore random or probable. This was the dilemma of capitalism. Ends lay outside the scope of reason and formed no intelligible order. The solution was a type of contract theory. In order for men to pursue their ends in safety, men voluntarily agreed to certain restrictions. Society was a creation of will and reason. But this had already been disputed; there were many purposes which were diverse. Social order was maintained not by man's rational appreciation of the derived advantages, nor by coercion, but through habits and customs. This was the insight of the emerging sociology of the nineteenth century. Some institutions appeared irrational, yet they were essential for social cohesion.

If social contract theory had assumed rationality, but was disproven, a new solution had to be found to justify the system. It came by what was called the "natural identity of interests." This differed from contract theory in that it still saw society as a set of rational actions in pursuit of clearly conceived goals, but it did not require that the actors in the social drama should need an overall view of the social system. Contract theory had a required totality; men had to see the implications of their actions in the whole of society and be capable of conceiving the form of society which would se-cure their ultimate ends. The "natural identity of interests" theory did not need this vision of its citizens. They acted rationally in a narrow selfish context. The intelligent pursuit of clearly recognized ends was adequate as a key to understanding society.[116]

During the latter half of the nineteenth century, many other sciences came to maturity: geology, palaeontology, evolutionary biology, comparative philology, prehistoric archeology. All were concerned with the reconstruction of states no longer directly observable by means of classification into stages and the postulation of laws of sequence of development. A number of events was eventually to lead to Darwin's theory of evolution (1859), and a new functionalism.

Embryology or epigenesis presented the idea that the embryo developed from a relatively simple and undifferentiated protoplasm into a highly differentiated and complex organism. Kielmeyer and Auterieth (1797) seemed to have produced an early version that phylogeny repeated in ontogeny. Haeckel, in 1811, asserted that species may have evolved from each other and that embryos in the course of their growth recapitulated anatomically and physiologically the evolutionary development of the species. Epigenesis competed with a rival theory called preformationism wherein it was argued that the germ cell, male or female, already contained in miniature the full formed and differentiated organism. Embryological growth simple meant a gradual enlargement or homunculus as designated in the human species.[117] These developments in England, plus those in France and Germany, which I will have occasion to point to, led to Darwin's Origin of Species (1859), wherein he presented a nonteleological mechanism of natural selection.

Sociology, modelling itself on this positivism, became a science of uncovering the laws which obeyed the social life of man. Life was seen as an ordered universe with causal connections. Maine's Ancient Law introduced inductive methods into the study of jurisprudence and politics. He had shown how past and present legal conceptions were linked. The general law of social development, wherein barbarian cultures could improve their lot to the heights of civilization, was developed by Taylor. Irrational practices were seen as social residuals. Spencer's Synthetic Philosophy made full use of Social Darwinism. The basic idea was that progress in the form of evolution proceeded from the simple to the more complex, from the incoherent to the coherent. In the state of nature, organisms with favorable variations automatically survived. Those which were undesirable perished. So in any society laissez-faire ensured the survival of the ablest and mot efficient entrepreneur. Spencer's system was an early version of a Formalism (Structuralism) as an environmental determinism. Mind disappeared - all changes came about through changes of the environment. This, then, was the end of the progressiveness of the Victorian era. Social Darwinism was presented as a justification for racial differences in terms of environmental differences of a different period of time. The survival of the fittest presented an apologia for Imperialism and monopoly capitalism.

The French Connection

Positions leading to Darwinism were developed by Jean Lamarck and Auguste Comte. Lamarck, in his Philosophie Zoologique (1809), argued that necessity produced new organs. These acquired characteristics were genetically transmitted and hence a new species was formulated. However, that argument was rejected because of too little evidence.

Positivism was represented by Auguste Comte (1798-1857) who presented a three stage development of civiliation from theology through metaphysics to the "final science" of sociology. Comte believed he had discovered the basic law governing the evolution of reason. In the theological stage, mind was under the spell of spirits. The world was explained by gods and forces. In the metaphysical stage, the abstract conceptions were merely fictional inventions and wish projections. Truth under "positive knowledge" was knowledge of the necessary laws of phenomena. This stage put man in full control of nature and his social milieu. Science was predictive control of man and society, and sociology was to lead to a perfect scientific society or "sociocracy."

In the arts the clearest expression of this new positivism was articulated by Hyppolite Taine.[118] The new art history was devoid of values and judgments. Words like "beautiful," "the good," "right" did not appear. Taine wrote his history of art between the two revolutions of 1848 and 1870 when Franch capitalism was at its height. His reports were like those of an impartial botanist observing different kinds of vegetation that appeared under different climatic conditions. Such observations "neither pardoned, nor prescribed; they verified and explained." So when Taine examined various historical periods he argued that each epoch of history had its distinctive institutions. There was no common nature. Taine saw the Greek athlete, the medieval monk or knight, the Renaissance courtier and modern, dissatisfied, Faust-like man, as the apotheosis of each period. After all this, Taine introduced a historical determinism, in which race, the milieu and moment were the determinants of art. Race was a biological inheritance of a nation; milieu was the physical environment while the moment was the acquired momentum which these institutions carried over from the past. He went on to argue that the genius of the Nation was equated with a figure who embodied the greatness and the psychology of the age. Byron, for example, was the "most English." His character was conditioned by the social environment.

Germany

It is no accident that materialism and positivism established themselves in Germany from 1850-1875. During this period, Germany industrialized. What took place earlier in England and France was to be repeated but on a much grander scale. In 1842, Robert Mayer had conceived the initial statement of the law of conservation of energy. Conservation of energy was a closed system. There was only transformation law - no creation. Antecedent causes were equal to the effect. Then in 1828, Justus von Liebig's work in chemistry, produced the artificial synthesis of urea.[119] This laid the bridge between the inorganic and organic realms, paving the way for a pure chemical explanation of living matter. Schwann's work on cellular theory of plants in 1838 was extended to animal tissue by Schleiden (1839).

Schwann's had been a non-evolutionary theory wherein the basic plant formation was the formation of independent cells which once formed were arranged in a structural pattern expressive of the unity of the plant as a whole.

Kirchhoff's invention of spectoscopy, and Johannes Muller's study of microscopic tissues and organisms as well as Hermann Lotze's mechanistic treatments of the organism laid the foundation of Alexander von Humboldt's Kosmos and Jacob Moleschott (1852) who saw human behavior explained in chemical and physical terms. Human thought was seen as particles and matter, hence recapitulating early French materialism. Ludwig Buchner's Kraft und Stoff (1855) became the Bible of German materialism. Energy and matter stood in a fixed and necessary relationship. Mind was simply a subsidiary product of matter. Soul, mind, thought were seen in mechanistic terms. Darwinian influence found its function with Haeckel whose "phylogeny recapitulates ontogeny" dictum was however shunned by Darwin himself.

The reasons for this move away from metaphysical notions of spirit and mind to a position of French materialism on a much more refined level can be explained by the examination of Germany's situation. Germany never really had a revolution. The 1848 "revolution" had been a peaceful one; power never changed hands. Despite the rapid growth that was enjoyed from 1850 on, the liberal spirit analogous to the French, English and American models, was never experienced. With industrialization, it was important that this state of affairs continue. "The German bourgeoisie had not inherited the modern industrial state from their fathers, neither had they acquired it by their own efforts; they had quite simply received it as a gift from the ruling class, from the nobility, the Junkers."[120] The German Reich had not been created "from beneath" by the bourgeoisie but from above by Bismarck and the Junkers who reserved for themselves all the important positions, in particular, the officer corps and diplomatic service. The bourgeoisie followed their lead, since business was good. The principal industrialists became powerful figures of State but "under the more or less socialistic administrations after 1918, the German bourgeoisie never managed to gain control over the apparatus of state to democratize it. The important posts of State, the army and the diplomatic corps remained in the hands of the Junkers right to 1932."[121]

By 1870, the German universities could boast about technicians and experts in the chemistry industry, products of a system imported and expanded on from France, which had had the industrial lead during the Napoleonic Wars.[122] There were a number of developments founded on this positivistic science. The most conservative was the German Historical School, which saw history as an examination of particulars. Another was the development of a Neo-Kantian psychology. The Neo-Kantian reaction took two forms. The most conservative was developed by Herbart, Fries, Beneke, and a crude physicalism was presented by G. Fechner, Herman von Helmholtz and William Wundt who developed a psychology without the concept of mind.[123] The Weber-Fechner Lab established the first definite quantitative equation between the intensity of the external stimuli and the intensity of the internal psychic sensation. This was the first purely mathematical statement between a discrete cause in the "objective" physical world and a response in the "subjective" mental world of perception. Psychology became a mind-body dualism called psycho-physics - an exact empirical science.

Helmholtz attempted to give Kant's transcendental theory of mind a precise psychological grounding, by equating real experience with experimental verification. Wundt founded the first psychological lab in Leipzig (1879). With Wundt, "self" was introduced as "creative synthesis" which translated Kant's transcendental unity of apperception into psychological terms. He also examined speech, and the creation and interpretation of symbols through intersubjective reports.

Art Education in the Industrial Period

In England, laissez-faire capitalism produced the antinomy between applied and fine art. The proliferation of cheap artifacts based on Greek, Roman, Gothic and Babylonian styles was part and parcel of the World Exhibition. The job of the industrial designer was to be merely a licensed plagiarist who gave his design to a styler who then suited it for machine production. Echoing Morris, this was "shoddy" production. Although businessmen recognized this state of affairs, profit was much more important.[124]

As early as 1837, the first design school was set up in London with government support; however, businessmen and local manufacturers saw the proliferation of these schools as a threat. Even the Manchester School of Design, which trained designers for the local calico trade was rejected, along with any design based on "fine art" principles. Consequently, in 1849, the Select Committee changed the program to include grammar of ornament and accurate copying in pencil.

From the middle of the nineteenth century, training of art teachers and obligatory drawing was introduced. This however, did not smooth over the rift between Figurative Directors who dealt with fine art and Ornament Masters.

Henry Cole was called in as a trouble shooter by the Board of Trade to resolve the conflict.[125] He changed the program to a craft-based training for the industrial designer as early as 1847. Cole had tried to persuade painters and sculptors to design for industry; through his efforts at the Great Exhibition he was able to set up the Royal College of Art in London. There he attempted to introduce industrial practice and workshop conditions but again met with opposition from industry. The College became a teacher training center for crafts. In 1851, Cole managed to impose art education at a national level. Since the manufacturers would not raise their standards, Cole thought it to be the schools' job.

Many design schools, although supported by government grants, did not produce the intended result. Many reverted to being "art schools," stressing figure drawing. Lady clients of middle and upper class rank forced many programs to steer towards the fine arts. Nevertheless, this arts and crafts movement gave rise to Art Nouveau which was based on the organic metaphor, and by 1896 institutions like the Central School of Arts and Crafts in London were training apprentices both as ornamentalists and stylers of articles.

France: L'art pour L'art

The Arcades came into being in the first half of the nineteenth century (1822-1837). They arose to accommodate the small luxury shops whose goods came from the expanding empires. These *magasins de nouveaute* became the haunts of the *flaneur*, the loafer who moved from store to store intoxicated by the commodity fetish. The *flaneur* was a keen observer of the crowd. Always amidst the mob, he studied the human landscape. "To him the shining, enamelled signs of business [were] at least as good as a wall ornament, as an oil painting [was] to a bourgeois in his salon. The walls became his desk upon which he wrote notes, the newsstand his library, terraces or cafés were his balconies from which he could view his 'household.'"[126]

The big city, wrote Simmel,[127] introduced new social interactions. Before the development of buses, railways and trams, people never had been in a position to have to look at one another for long periods of time.

Attention fell on personalities - the dandies. The dandy presented the height of fashion.[128] The dandy was involved in the stock-exchange, a very unstable market where bankruptcy was not unusual. The cultivation of a cool and cold, unemotional outlook in public and the characteristic "tic" gesture provided a suitable façade against so much uncertainty. His movements and psychological sketches were reported in the *feuilleton* section of the newspapers which provided "cocktail gossip" and theatre intrigues for the café crowds. The masters of the *feuilleton* claimed that they could divide the Parisian public according to various strata as easily as a geologist could distinguish layers of rock.

Industrialism spread its colors over the entire landscape. Not only did the moths change color, but greys and blacks became the predominant colors for men's wear, as if the country was in perpetual mourning. For the symbolists like Mallarmé, Proust, Baudelaire, Flaubert, art had lost its "aura," that is, the touch of the human hand. The feeling of this loss was intensified by the appearance of the daguerreotype (1822) made possible by the chemistry industry, and other mechanical devices which increased the memoire voluntaire.

The late Romantics, Baudelaire, Gerard de Nerval and Lautreamont and the symbolists, Rimbaud, Mallarmé, Paul Valéry, rejected capitalism and Realist aesthetics.[129] They believed that life in the form of art was better and more acceptable than it was in reality. Through memory, vision, artistic creation, they produced a self-consciousness and self-critical method which gave form to their past. Baudelaire, Valéry and Proust grappled with involuntary memory, dwelling on experiences which led to long streams of consciousness.

The movement adopted a model of nature in which the passive process was replaced by an active attempt to see the world as the medium of artistic experience and artistic effort. Raw, unformed nature, untouched by artistic form, lost its aesthetic appeal. The ideal of naturalness began to give way to the artificial: the human landscape of cities became more important; its pleasures and vices, more appealing. Baudelaire rejected Rousseau's idealization of the state of nature and romantic nature worship. He emphasized his correspondences, or analogies between parallel phenomena or areas of sense experience. Everything simple and direct, instinctual and spontaneous was rejected. The new values were self-consciousness, the mastery of instincts and the fundamental unnaturalness of civilization which was in evidence everywhere.

Symbolists attempted to reach the hidden absolute through pure poesie - poetry originating from the inherent spirit of language independent of logical content or reason. Symbols embodied terms such as name, image, simile, metaphor, to achieve poetical clarity; thus avoiding logic or conceptual meaning. Rimbaud proclaimed that the poet be a seer - the senses had to be denaturalized and dehumanized to get at an esoteric vision. Phenomena could be distorted or deformed because normal spontaneous attitudes were artistically unproductive. The poet had to overcome the natural, normal rational man himself before he could discover the real, hidden meanings of things: Kantian critical theory pushed to subjectivism. The autonomous poetic sense became independent of reason. Rational meaning was not important. Flaubert, for example, wrote poetry not knowing what the next line would say. Like Mannerism, Symbolism produced a highly intellectual artwork. Mystery, however, was necessary. It allowed the immediate grasping of uncontaminated experience. To have put things simply would have eliminated the complexity of the concrete, still undifferentiated, experience.

A new formalism was introduced wherein words were carefully picked for their affect. "The things I see, see me just as much as I see them," said Valéry.[130] Paul Valéry represents a transitional figure between l'art pour l'art and art and science, a development characteristic of twentieth century modernism.

Summary

The history of aesthetics and artistic styles from approximately 1400 to 1650 was characterized by a struggle between the Nobility and the Church. As the court society became socially conscious of its position, it began gradually to pull away from the Church which had ruled in the name of all since the fifteenth century. While the great courts continued to support ecclesiastic themes, the smaller courts and financiers supported Mannerist portraiture. In Holland, landscape art and portraiture were favored by the Burghers. Absolutism marked an alliance between Church and State facilitated by the King playing a game of balance between the Third Estate and the landed nobility who have been called, the haute bourgeoisie. To the extent that mercantilsim flourished, the influence of the Church progressively waned. The Court ideology was expressed by the Baroque style and depending on which court was examined, religious motifs played a smaller role while pagan eroticism and hedonism increased.

The period from 1650-1750 was characterized by the struggle between a rural nobility and an urban nobility who were in tune with the functions of state and involved with the capitalist enterprize. Rationalist aesthetics and the Rococo style were the outcomes in France. In Spain, where Enlightenment had failed, only Goya maintained a rationalist vision. In contrast, England's Whig Party overcame Tory rule. They supported middle class interests. An empiricist aesthetic which stressed primary qualities was developed. Likewise, in France, a Stoic classicist aesthetic became the weapon of the Revolution.

The period from 1750-1880 marked the struggle of the bourgeoisie to free the fetters of Church, feudal nobility and the haute bourgeoisie. Since the fifteenth century their aesthetic expression had resulted in an ever-increasing aesthetic naturalism which gradually removed Church symbolism and chivalric elements in order to present the only "true" representation of the world. Like the Church and Nobility before them, they claimed to represent the universal class. The diorama and the daguerreotype were their highest achievements, reflecting the certainty and verifiability which they sought in their lives. In their aesthetic writings there was a sense of urgency and mission. "Experience" meant doing and transforming one's immediate environment. The picturesque and the sublime were values which captured the sense of the new possibilities, two very opposite reactions to the changing landscape. Engravings of steam engines, engineered bridges, plans for new mills were pleasing to the eye. Such a life-world of the industrialist was in complete contrast to the logocentrism of the nobility. As the bourgeoisie gained influence, they redefined mimesis from its Platonic foundations, wherein art imitated natural objects (natura naturans), to an Aristotelian formulation wherein art imitated the process of nature (natura naturanta). Romanticism introduced a bio-centric metaphor. The concepts of genius and the imagination introduced a phenomenalist position which studied the changes of Nature. From 1830 to 1880, "progress" became the new watchword. The generic organicist aesthetic of Romanticism became an evolutionary genetic approach towards the end of the century, when it became known as Naturalism and Positivism.

In Germany the Romantics strove for the "authentic self," developing an idealist aesthetic due to a peculiar set of historical events, while in France, where the bourgeoisie had great difficulty in achieving power, Gericault presented a Romantic *generic* metaphor. Later the *genetic* metaphor was introduced by Taine. Realism was a recapitulation of the early contradictions between the urban and rural haute bourgeoisie as originally presented by the Rococo and the Baroque.

As the nineteenth century progressed, the artist became conscientized to moral and political struggles. The Revolutions of 1830 and 1848 produced the first awakenings of a proletarian aesthetic: the expression of a class which had had very little visual representation until then. Daumier and Millet appear to be the first visual artists attempting to give voice to the "voiceless." Their cause, later taken up by the Expressionists, *l'art pour l'art* movement and the Symbolists provided the truly progressive movements of the proletariat, while Courbet and Morris, despite their claims to be socialists, did not get beyond formalism.

Footnotes - Chapter Four

[1] Leszek Kolakowski, The Alienation of Reason (New York: Garden City, 1968).

[2] J. Bronowski and Bruce Mazlish, The Western Intellectual Tradition (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1975), pp. 28-44.

[3] On Witelo's aesthetics, see W. Tatarkiewicz, History of Aesthetics, Vol. 2, Medieval Aesthetics, ed. D. Petsch (Warszawa: Polish Scientific Pub., 1974), pg. 112; and M. Jammer, Concepts of Space: The History of Theories of Space in Physics (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1954), pg. 35 and pg. 37.

[4] Only Hugh St. Victor offered an alternative. Hugh St. Victor, a twelfth century thinker realized that the mechanical arts were neither theoretical, nor practical, but deserved a place of their own. His divisions included logica (philosophy which was rhetoric and dialectics, the whole trivium); theoria - mathematics which embraced the quadrivium - arithmetics, harmonics (geometry and astronomy), physics and theology; practica which included ethics, economics and politics; and mechanica - all production from manufacture of instruments, navigation, agriculture, hunting, medicine, theatrical performances. See N. Lobkowicz, Theory and Practice: History of a Concept From Aristotle to Marx (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1967), Chapter 6.

[5] See Andrew Martindale, The Rise of the Artist: In the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1972), and Johan Huizinga, The Waning of the Middle Ages (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books Inc., 1955), Chapter 10.

[6] Michael Baxandall, Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy (Oxford: Claredon Press, 1972), pg. 11.

[7] F. Antal, Florentine Painting and Its Social Background (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1948). Painters belonging to this larger guild, however, were refused any administrative or judicial autonomy. In fact, they were classed as sottoposti, lumped with color-grinders, house painters and saddlers. In 1339 they attempted to emancipate themselves by joining the Compagnia di S. Luca where they had freedom of assembly and when the ciompi revolted within the Medici e Speciali they were able to solidify a further class consciousness. Cennini was to write, "And let me tell you that doing a

panel is really a gentleman's job, for you may do anything you want with velvet on your back."

[8] Jean Gimpel, The Cathedral Builders (New York: Grove Press Inc., 1961). The artist was invited by priests to study the latest manuscripts and fashion appropriate groupings for the cathedral. He became familiar with manuscript miniatures and theology. Such new found freedom manifested itself in the signing of his works as early as the twelfth century (Gislebert signed the famous tympanum of Autum; Giraud signed the portal of Saint-Ursin in Bourges; Umbert, a capital of the porch at Saint-Benoit-sur-Loire; Rettibitus, a capital of Notre-Dame du Port in Clemont).

[9] Michael Baxandall, Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy, pg. 2.

[10] Perspective geometry and the anatomical study of Pollaiolo paved the way. Filippo Brunelleschi (1377-1446) provided the bridge between the artist and the scientist. His was the first attempt to create a theory of perspective by experimental means. Carrying on the tradition begun by Witelo, Brunelleschi built the earliest optical instrument, the perspieillum. Through this perspective machine, he was able to place objects correctly in space. See Giorgio de Santillana, "The Role of Art in the Scientific Renaissance," in Critical Problems in the History of Science, ed. M. Clagett (Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), pp. 33-65.

[11] An adequate presentation of Alberti's aesthetics is provided by Anthony Blunt, Artistic Theory in Italy 1450-1600 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1940), pp. 1-22. Alberti's family became well versed in capitalistic means of doing business. They hired their services to both Church and wealthy middle class patrons, freely adopting the capitalistic spirit of the profit motive and "middle class" virtues of acquisitiveness, industry, frugality and respectability. In his De Pictura (c. 1435), Alberti argued that the best artists could get along easily with princes and could cultivate the acquaintances of poets and orators who had a high social ranking due to their literary abilities.

[12] Following Brunelleschi and Alberti's lead, Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519) argued that painting was on the same level as poetry and rhetoric which which were already accepted as liberal arts, because the painter, like the poet, used his imaginative faculty. Both required manual labor to give them form; the writer used a pen while the artist used a brush. Painting could represent an action as completely, even more completely than poetry, and in particular, could attain the same moral ends which poetry claimed, by showing human action through the use of gesture and facial expressions. Much later, Cellini (1500-1571) was to argue that the sculptor had to know about the art of war and had to be himself a brave man if he was to make a successful sta-

tue of a brave soldier. In the same way, he had to know about music and rhetoric to represent a musician or an orator.

[13] M. Baxandall, Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy, Chapter 3. Church aesthetic is also visible with Fra Angelico who presents many moments of the visitation, each displaying a unique virtue by the Virgin Mary. Color codes provide still other clues for religious discriminations. St. Antoninous' scheme was as follows: white signifies purity, red is charity, yellow-gold is dignity and black, humility. The discrimination of various blues, gold and silver was yet another indicator of fervent adoration. Latria, the ultimate worship due only to the Trinity, was expressed in gold accents. Dulia, the reverence for excellence due to saints, angels and Fathers, may have been indicated by silver or a cheaper blue. Gestures were also symbolic and an instructional device.

[14] N. Pevsner, An Outline of European Architecture (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1943), pg. 183.

[15] The court nobility enjoyed the works of Pisanello (1395-1455/6) who drew studies of horses, an animal vital to their social survival. Discriminating "good" horses from "poor" onces was picked up from infancy. Also, the maiden's handbook, Decor puellarum (Venice, 1471) explained gestures which ought to be used by courtly women. Botticelli (1455-1510) used such codes frequently. He especially relied on new dances which provided him with new groupings for mythological subjects which a courtly audience would understand.

[16] Arnold Hauser, The Social History of Art, Vol. 2 (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., A Vintage Book, reprint ed., 1951), pp. 61-62.

[17] M. Baxandall, Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy, pp. 86ff. Math books provided many problems of gauging, using Euclidean geometry. There was a repertory of stock objects such as cisterns, columns, brick towers, paved floors, etc., which were common objects for gauging. Every handbook had a pavilion as an exercise in calculating surface areas to determine the amount of cloth required. Such irregular masses were reduced to manageable combinations of geometrical bodies. In 1494, Onofrio Dini's story in his Summa de Arithmetica provides an illustration of the universal arithmetical Rule of Three, often referred to as the Golden Rule or Merchants key. Here proportion is illustrated to work out problems of pasturage, brokerage, discount, tax allowance, adulteration of commodities, barter and currency change. See E. Zilsel, "The Sociological Roots of Science," American Journal of Sociology 47 (January 1942):545-560.

[18] Andrea del Castagno (1423?-1457) was admired for his disegnatore (design); a linear, as opposed to a tonal presentation as well as for the degree of difficulty (amatore della difficulta) in executing certain themes. Brunelleschi received similar praise.

Scorci or foreshortening was equally praised, and abundant in Castagno's works. Donatello was praised for his compositional qualities, and his prompto (promptness) also a skill-related category translated roughly as diligence-with-quickness.

[19] Term used by E. Panofsky for the space of Medieval art. See, Arnold Hauser, The Social History of Art, Vol. 2, pg. 12.

[20] Ibid., pp. 84ff.

[21] On Francesco di Giorgio's aesthetics, see W. Tatarkiewicz, History of Aesthetics, Vol. 3, Modern Aesthetics, ed. D. Petsch (Warszawa: Polish Scientific Publishers, 1974), pp. 112-114; and W. Sypher, Four Stages of Renaissance Style (Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1978), pg. 63.

[22] The way had been paved by the humanists, the greatest of whom had been Erasmus. Erasmus tried to reconcile what were two antithetical views: the pagan hedonism of the Greeks and Stoics contrasted to the ascetic Christian practice. One ideology glorified the flesh, the other stressed its weaknesses. See, Jacob Bronowski and Bruce Mazlish, The Western Intellectual Tradition, pp. 61-75.

[23] Arnold Hauser, Mannerism: The Crisis of the Renaissance and the Origin of Modern Art (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965), pp. 63-79. Machiavelli's, Prince argues for a double morality. The rules which bind men in general are not applicable to princes.

[24] W. Tatarkiewicz, History of Aesthetics, Vol. 3, Modern Aesthetics, pp. 141-147.

[25] E. H. Gombrich, Art and Illusion (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1972), pp. 250-257, for a discussion on the anamorphic effect.

[26] The Mannerist period has three phases. The earliest and most original phase promotes an aristocratic refinement. Pontormo's portraits of court society present a self-consciousness and complacency in their poses. Colors are cold and clear without any consideration of the real color of the objects. There is a striving for elegance and elaboration, which is reached by elongating the figure. The environment is neglected and the works are demonumental. Second generation Mannerists, Bronzino and Parmigianino, paint a princely court who see victory in sight. Bronzino's sitters show a cold and frigid self-discipline, like the most famous portrait of Cardinal Fernando Nino deGuevara (The Grand Inquisitor, 1600), to be painted by El Greco much later in Spain. Their faces mask their "soul." A separation exists between them and the spectator. The convex mirror becomes a symbol of their reality. The last phase was an erotic one.

Prudish rules of etiquette and aristocratic camouflage mask the struggle between the flesh and spirit. Eroticism, best exemplified by later Mannerists such as Bartholomeus Sprangler, Lambert Sustris, Francois Clouet, etc., was concealed by presenting bare chested Venus engaged in toiletry. In some works, the Virgin Mary is more of a seductress than a saint. Parmigianino paints her as slender, long legged, with narrow hands and delicate face.

[27] N. Pevsner, An Outline of European Architecture, pg. 188.

[28] Arnold Hauser, Mannerism: The Crisis of the Renaissance and the Origin of Modern Art, pg. 221. Hauser has listed the characteristics of this artistic space; he is describing Tintoretto, who remains true to Mannerism, yet embraces the Church.

> "...the characteristic elongation of form, the preference for tall, slender figures, the unequal filling of space, the abandonment of tight concentration, the relegation of the principal scene from the foreground or centre to the background or side figures sometimes packed together and sometimes scattered widely apart, strong recession brought about by foreshortening, repousoir [relief] figures or dragnais, emphatic contrast of dimensions, lighting and postures, repetition, parallelism and consonance of motives, lines and forms, the removal of the protagonist from the centre of the picture and the consequent devaluation of the individual in favor of the group..."

[29] The pre-conditions for this originated with the Council of Trent. The Council of Trent (1545) laid down the conditions of art. The artist had to avoid incorporating heresies into his painting; he was constrained to keep close to the Bible or traditional stories and not to add ornaments for the sake of making it more attractive. Angels had to have wings; saints had to have haloes and if allegory was used it had to be intelligible. The artist could introduce probable facts or ideas as long as they were based on the authority of "wise and learned men." Savonarola burnt all voluptuous paintings that he could lay his hands on. Vasari recorded that St. Sebastian by Fra Bartommeo had to be removed from Church because it had inspired impure thoughts. Michelangelo's Last Judgment became the focus of attack. Paul IV threatened to destroy it and finally ordered Daniels da Volterra to paint draperies over the figures. The Council of Trent (1563), by giving power to the bishops to determine what was proper conduct, brought about a series of mechanical regulations which stopped the Church as a progressive artistic force. Andrea Gilio's (1564) work, Due Dialoghi degli errori de'pittori ushered in the new criticism. Purely formal problems were dropped. Only practical and functional questions concerning subject matter came under discussion. All critics followed suit (Carlo Borromeo, Raffaele Borghini's Riposa - 1584). Aesthetic ideologues for the Council included Antonio Possevino (1533/34-1611) and Tommuso Campanella (1568-1639). The

basic commitment was to argue that all artworks (poetry was their main focus) were to be moral, useful (pedagogical), and true. Gabriele Paleotti's *Discorso intorno le immagini's acre (1582)*, a typical example, stressed emotional and sentimental experience in the pain and sufferings of Christ. See, W. Tatarkiewicz, *History of Aesthetics*, Vol. 3, *Modern Aesthetics*, pg. 183 and pg. 188 on Tomasso Campanella and Antonio Pessevino.

[30] See Francis Haskell, *Patrons and Painters: Italian Art and Society in the Age of Baroque* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1963).

[31] Seymour Slive, "Rembrandt and His Contemporary Critics," in *Ideas in Cultural Perspective*, ed. Philip Wiener and Aaron Noland (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1962), pp. 203-220.

[32] See H. Trevor-Roper, *Princes and Artists: Patronage and Ideology at Four Habsburg Courts 1517-1633* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1976). Such grotesque (the original meaning for the word "baroque") scenes as Saturn devouring his children, Judith slicing off the head of Holofernes, centaurs in heat, Bacchus and the rapes of Prosperine and Ganymede found favor in the courts.

[33] Wylie Sypher, *Four Stages of Renaissance Style*, pp. 188-189.

[34] G. C. Bauer, ed., *Bernini in Perspective* (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1976). Bernini's columns "swelled" while his figures "bulged" with ostentation and display. Their volume seemed to expand from within. *Putti* and angels were visible everywhere. The baroque sculptor modelled his work; he did not carve it. Stucco allowed for greater optical illusion. Wood, stone, metal, wax and clay were used indiscriminately, simply painted over.

[35] Wylie Sypher, *Four Stages of Renaissance Style*, pg. 239.

[36] N. Pevsner, *An Outline of European Architecture*, pp. 245-246. Baroque architecture displayed a rhythmical movement. Even heavy walls seem to "move" and "swing." The use of ovals in a compound fashion gave a feeling of rhythm and sway. Convex was placed against concave which added a flow to the facades. Columns and pilasters crowded together seemed to jostle against each other. Matter was given "force" or motion by a series of compressions and "releases." Lavish columns enclosed a niche through which the inhabitant was expelled into space into a much larger room. Architecture became a series of closures, expansions and expulsions beyond each enclosure. Distance was thus achieved, a negation of space immediately followed by its affirmation. See also N. Pevsner, *Academies of Art: Past and Present* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1973), pp. 43-75.

[37] Lucien Goldmann, The Hidden God: A study of Tragic Vision in the Penseés of Pascal and the Tragedies of Racine (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1964). The social background which resulted in this consciousness was the emergence of Absolutism. Its development follows three steps: 1) The King was merely someone who happened to be more powerful than most of the other nobles (not all of them). Additional prestige was enjoyed through the support of the towns and the Third Estate. There was no real dominant power. 2) The King acquired power over the other nobles - based on the Third Estate and on the body of legal and administrative officers. This was a limited monarchy of the ancien regime. 3) The King became independent not only on the rest of the nibility, but also the Third Estate and of the Cours souveraines. State was run by his corps de commissaires. A balance was maintained between nobility (cours souveraines) and the Third Estate (bourgeoisie) by arguing that a central authority was needed to put down popular revolts.

[38] W. Tatarkiewicz, History of Aesthetics, Vol. 3, Modern Aesthetics, pg. 330. Claude Lorrain's landscapes, which capitalize upon light and atmosphere, were a logical extension of Poussin's work. Through his landscapes infinite space was finally achieved. See, John Canaday, Baroque Painters (New York: W. W. Norton and Co. Inc., 1969), pg. 461.

[39] Ernst Cassirer, Philosophy of the Enlightenment (Boston: Beacon Press, 1966).

[40] A. Hauser, The Social History of Art, Vol. 3, Chapter 6.

[41] N. Pevsner, Academies of Art, Past and Present, Chapter 4.

[42] W. Sypher, Rococo to Cubism in Art and Literature (New York: Random House, 1960), Chapter 1.

[43] E. Cassirer, Essay on Man: An Introduction to a Philosophy of Human Culture (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974), pg. 141.

[44] See, Francis Klingender, Goya and the Democratic Tradition (New York: Schocken Books, 1968).

[45] N. Hadjinicolaou, Art History and Class Struggle (London: Pluto Press, 1978), pg. 172. The Marquesa de la Solana was painted with a ridiculous red bow. See also Ortega y Gasset, The Dehumanization of Art (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1972).

[46] For a concise story see Paul Von Blum, The Art of Social Conscience (New York: Universe Books, 1976), pp. 11-21.

[47] For these developments see: Ellis Waterhouse, Painting in Britain 1530-1790 (London: Penguin Books, 1953) and Three Decades of British Art 1740-1770 (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society Independence Square, 1965); William Gaunt, The Restless Century: Painters in Britain 1800-1900 (London: Phaidon Press Ltd., 1972); and John Sunderland, Painting in Britain 1525-1975 (Oxford: Phaidon Press Ltd., 1976).

[48] F. Antal, Hogarth and His Place in European Art (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961).

[49] Arnold Kettle, "The Progressive Tradition in Bourgeois Culture," in Radical Perspectives in the Arts, ed. Lee Baxandall (Harmondsworth: Penguin Ltd., 1972), pg. 164.

[50] J. Opper, Science and the Arts (New Jersey: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1973), pp. 63-64. In England, John Ray classified plants and animals based on a static fixed number of species on a permanent "natural scale." Although Ray was a creationist he did claim that there was an élan vital (immanent Soul or growth) in plants and animals. Linaeus' classificatory system was also based on a fixed Scala Naturae, (i.e., the chain of being ranging from the simplest organisms at the bottom of the spectrum to highly differentiated life forms at the top). Every plant filled a necessary niche. Since the created world was orderly, a perfect natural system of classification was possible. His binomial nomenclature (the classification of plants and animals into genus and species) rests on the immutability of species. Later in life, his own hybridization caused him anguish since it was contrary to his religious convictions.

[51] Christopher Hussey, The Picturesque (London: G. P. Putnan's Sons, 1927).

[52] Derek Jarrett, England in the Age of Hogarth (Frogmore, St. Albans: Granada Pub. Ltd., 1976, A Paladin Book).

[53] Edmund Burke, The Sublime and Beautiful (London: George Bell and Sons, York Street, Covent Garden, 1889).

[54] C. Hussey, The Picturesque, Chapter 3; and K. Gilbert and Helmut Kuhn, A History of Esthetics (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1954), pp. 237-239 and pp. 321-322.

[55] W. Sypher, Rococo to Cubism in Art and Literature, pg. 94.

[56] See, G. Lukács, The Rise of the Historical Novel (Atlantic Highlands, New Jersey: Humanities Press, 1974). In literature, stress was placed on family life and morals. Gentlemen and gentry values of

the haute bourgeoisie were transmitted through the weeklies of Addison's, The Spectator and Steele's, Tatler while Richardson's novel, Pamela was the complete literary expression of the new ethics of the middle class, with its new esteem for wife and mother.

[57] Francis D. Klingender, Art and the Industrial Revolution (New York: Schocken Books, 1970), pp. 84-86. Sir Uvedule Price's (1747-1829), An Essay on the Picturesque argued that the picturesque scenes should exclude not only the ploughed field and agriculture work, but "in general the works of man." Deformities, which he defined as something that did not originally belong to the subject in which it exists, such as "the side of a smooth green hill torn by flood," quarries, gravel-pits, and "large heaps of mould or stones," became converted to the picturesque through the softening of time and weather.

[58] D. D. Egbert, Social Radicalism and the Arts (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970), pp. 381-382. Bentham, for example became obsessed with his plan for a "Panopticon," a circular building designed in such a way that an overseer stationed in the center could see all that went on in the segments of the circle. One of his more visionary schemes concerned a childrens' seesaw which he could connect to a pumping machine so that play could be turned into useful purposes.

[59] Although the Romantic Rebellion lasted much longer than 1830, the date is so chosen to mark the date when the industrialization based on steam was in full swing. Romanticism would occur in other countries as industrialization progressed.

[60] See, Ernst Fisher, The Necessity of Art (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books Ltd., 1963), pp. 52ff; and E. Fisher, Art Against Ideology (London: Allen Lane: Penguin Press, 1969).

[61] F. Antal, Fuseli Studies (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1956).

[62] F. Will, Intelligible Beauty in Aesthetic Thought (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1958), Chapter 3, "Blake's Quarrel with Reynolds," pp. 32-47.

[63] Robert Rosenblum, Transformations in Late Eighteenth Century Art (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1967), pp. 167-179.

[64] D. D. Egbert, Social Radicalism and the Arts (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970), pg. 382.

[65] Raymond Williams, Culture and Society 1780-1950 (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1963, pp. 65-84.

[66] See, Milton Brown, The Painting of the French Revolution (New York: 1938).

[67] Arnold Hauser, The Social History of Art, Vol. 3, pp. 142ff.

[68] R. Rosenblum, Transformations in Late Eighteenth Century Art (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1967), Chapter 2, "The Exemplum Virtutis," pp. 50-106.

[69] J. Bronowski and Bruce Mazlish, The Western Intellectual Tradition (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1975), pg. 402. Socialism made its appearance under the "Conspiracy of Equals" spearheaded by Babeuf representing the sans-culotte. The Conspiracy of Equals called primarily for agricultural reform and the abolition of property.

[70] F. Antal, Classicism and Romanticism (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1973, Icon Edition), pp. 1-37.

[71] Ibid., pp. 37-46. Gericault was the first artist to depict Napoleonic soldiers in a natural way. They were presented without their leader, with their faces visible and were painted on canvases which were of a comparable size to historical paintings.

[72] T. Clark, The Absolute Bourgeois: Artists and Politics in France, 1848-1851 (London: Thames and Hudson, 1973).

[73] Ibid., pp. 100-102 and pp. 105-106. Ratapoil embodied the contradiction of the Revolutions. He was a villian but also a hero; he was the servant of power but also a dupe; his clothes were ragged and threadbare, yet he wore a top-hat; his face and beard were a death's head but it was also a comic mask.

[74] See, Oliver W. Larkin, Daumier: Man of His Time (Boston: Beacon Press, 1966).

[75] All references are from E. Delacroix, The Journal of Eugene Delacroix, trans. Lucy Norton, ed. Hubert Wellington (London: Phaidon Press, 1951). Stress was placed on the phenomenal world. His journal has many references to Nature. For example, he mentions the smell of green things after a rain; the fragrance of a star filled night; the feel of water; the description of the shape of a slug.

[76] T. Clark, The Absolute Bourgeois: Artists and Politics in France, 1848-1851, pp. 52-57.

[77] T. Clark, The Absolute Bourgeois: Artists and Politics in France, 1848-1851, pg. 73. Between 1846-1848 Millet painted quarry men at work, a woman churning butter, but he had also shown Oedipus Cut Down From the Tree and the Capitivity at Babylon at the same Salon. Millet played the market game. He painted signs for fancy-goods, shops and drawings for books about the Wild West.

[78] T. Clark, Image of the People: Gustave Courbet and 1848 Revolution (London: Thames and Hudson, 1973).

[79] See, W. Benjamin, Charles Baudelaire: A Lyric Poet in the Era of High Capitalism (London: New Left Books, 1973).

[80] T. Clark, Images of the People: Gustave Courbet and 1848 Revolution, pg. 114. The great landlord in the countryside was no longer a threat; he was hit as hard. The almanacs harped on problems of credit and debt. The money-lender was hated. Courbet's Supper at Orans, Stoneworkers, Burial at Orans, Peasants of Falgery Returning from the Fair, reflect this contradiction. In his Burial at Orans, only the gravedigger is a peasant; all the rest are bourgeoisie, but burials were strictly for wealthy bourgeois who could afford them. Most Parisians were buried in a common grave.

[81] Ibid., pg. 130.

[82] Jack Lindsay, Gustave Courbet: His Life and Art (London: Jupiter Book Ltd., 1977), pg. 225.

[83] Arnold Hauser, The Social History of Art, Vol. 3, pg. 163.

[84] Lucien Goldmann, Immanual Kant (London: New Left Books, 1971).

[85] F. Schiller, On the Aesthetic Education of Man, In a Series of Letters (New York: Frederick Ungar Pub. Co., 1965).

[86] Augustus Cornu, The Origins of Marxian Thought (Springfield, Illinois: C. C. Thomas, 1957), pg. 12.

[87] Ibid., pg. 17.

[88] Jack Kaminsky, Hegel on Art (New Yokr: State University of New York, 1962).

[89] See, D. E. Gilbert and Helmut Kuhn, A History of Aesthetics (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1954), pp. 428ff. Schopenhauer's system had a development scheme wherein the Will's

expressiveness was represented by a Platonic Idea. The irrational became rational through stages of the hierarchy of nature (i.e., inorganic, organic - plant, animal and man). Art became the expression, the direct objectivity of the thing-in-itself (the Will). Genius was the pure will-less subject who had access to the thing-in-itself. Through contemplation one escaped the pain and evilness.

[90] Robert Heiss, Hegel, Kierkegaard, Marx (New York: Dell Publishing Co. Inc., 1975), pp. 187-281.

[91] K. E. Gilbert and Helmut Kuhn, A History of Aesthetics, pg. 460.

[92] N. Pevsner, An Outline of European Architecture, pg. 246.

[93] Kenneth Clark, The Gothic Revival: An Essay in the History of Taste (Trowbridge and Esher: Redwood Burn Limited, 1975), pp. 104-105.

[94] F. Klingender, Art and the Industrial Revolution, pg. 122.

[95] Jack Lindsay, Turner: His Life and Work (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1966), pg. 142.

[96] Ibid., pg. 332.

[97] Graham Reynolds, Constable: The Natural Painter (New York: Schocken Books, 1965).

[98] E. H. Gombrich, Art and Illusion (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1972), pp. 33-49.

[99] Graham Reynolds, Constable: The Natural Painter, pp. 131-134.

[100] E. P. Thompson, William Morris: Romantic to Revolutionary (New York: Pantheon Books, 1977).

[101] Ian Gregor, ed., Matthew Arnold: Culture and Anarchy (New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1971), pg. xxxi.

[102] E. P. Thompson, William Morris: Romantic to Revolutionary, pg. 24.

[103] Ibid., pg. 19.

[104] Wylie Sypher, Rococo to Cubism in Art and Literature, pg. 204.

[105] E. P. Thompson, William Morris: Romantic to Revolutionary, pg. 57.

[106] See, Peter Floud, "William Morris as an Artist: A New View," and "The Inconsistencies of William Morris," The Listener, October 7th and 14th, 1954, pp. 562-564 and pp. 615-631. His argument that the hand was better than the machine, may well have rested on the fact that hand printed wall paper was not limited to the size of the design or opaqueness of color. With the machine, roller size and thin color use for quick drying, produced an inferior product.

[107] See, Peter Floud, "Dating Morris Patterns," Architectural Review 126 (July 1959):15-20.

[108] Peter Floud, "The Inconsistencies of William Morris," The Listener, pg. 629.

[109] Wylie Sypher, Rococo to Cubism in Art and Literature, pp. 236-237.

[110] F. Klingender, Art and the Industrial Revolution, pp. 134ff. In France, manufacturing based on the chemical industry was marked by the 1861 World Exhibition and in Germany, 1870 marked its achievement of industrialization.

[111] D. D. Egbert, Social Radicalism and the Arts, pg. 409.

[112] F. Klingender, Art and the Industrial Revolution, pg. 164.

[113] Ibid., pg. 180.

[114] J. W. Burrow, Evolution and Society: A Study in Victorian Social Theory (London: Cambridge University Press, 1966), pp. 40ff.

[115] Ibid., pg. 80. It was the third quarter of the century which saw a revival, after half a century of relative neglect of interest in primitive society. It was in the sixties of the nineteenth century that a systematic, well-documented comparative social anthropology was born, and an interest in the manners, customs, institutions and beliefs of primitive and oriental peoples ceased to be confined to travellers, antiquarians and satirists, and to take the study of them seriously became no longer merely a proof of eccentricity.

[116] Ibid., pg. 105.

[117] J. Opper, Science and the Arts (New Jersey: Fairleigh, Dickinson University Press, 1973l, pg. 155.

[118] Martha Wolfenstein, "The Social Background of Taine's Philosophy of Art," in Ideas in Cultural Perspective, ed. Philip P. Wiener and Aaron Noland (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1962), pp. 283-312.

[119] Michael Ermarth, William Dilthey: The Critique of Historical Reason (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1978).

[120] Lucien Goldmann, Immanuel Kant, pg. 111.

[121] Ibid., pg. 112.

[122] H. Braverman, Labor and Monopoly Capital: The Degradation of Work in the Twentieth Century (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1974), pg. 161.

[123] M. Ermarth, William Dilthey: The Critique of Historical Reason, pg. 72; and "Intellectual Foreground, 1850-1900: The Naturalization of Spirit," pp. 62-92.

[124] S. Hannema, Fads, Fakes and Fantasies: The Crisis in Art Schools and the Crisis in Art (London: MacDonald, 1970).

[125] S. MacDonald, The History and Philosophy of Art Education (London: University of London Press Ltd., 1970), pp. 129-142 and pp. 253-263.

[126] Walter Benjamin, Baudelaire: A Lyric Poet in the Era of High Capitalism, pg. 37.

[127] G. Simmel, The Conflict in Modern Culture and Other Essays (New York: Teachers College Press, 1968), pp. 11-27.

[128] César Graña, Fact and Symbol (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), pp. 44-51.

[129] Wylie Sypher, Rococo to Cubism in Art and Literature, pg. 124. Baudelaire led the attack on Realists whom he called the "parasites of the object," who kept looking outside for what "was only to be found within." Baudelaire hated Daguerre. Photography and art were not the same thing. Art was an enemy of photography.

[130] Agnes E. MacKay, The Universal Self (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961).

CHAPTER FIVE

Aesthetics in Monopoly Capitalism

Fin de Siècle: Aesthetic Consciousness During Industrialization Based on Electricity

The period from 1880 to 1914 marked the transition from laissez-faire capitalism to what became known as monopoly capitalism. This development gave rise in turn to the establishment of the authoritarian states, to Fascism and to Russia's brand of Communism under Stalin. The antecedents to the above developments rested in the increased power of central banks to the former case, while the Second International (1902) and Third International (1918) set the foundation for the Russian Revolution.

The banks and the government[1] were not in conflict as to whether they were subject to government regulations; eventually however, they managed to lobby for new legislation which gave them complete independence from government interference. This transition, which was termed "the crisis of capital," meant that the individual, the small businessman, lost his power. A market economy, where money had been the source of power, gave way to a political economy wherein a new social relationship established itself between commander and commanded rather than buyer and seller. Politics, which had been freed by laissez-faire from absolutism, took on supreme importance. The profit motive was subsumed by a power motive; greater profits signified greater power and less dependence upon the commands of others.

As political leanings turned towards the Left in most European countries, the central banks became the organism used by big financial and industrial interests to manipulate the worth of government bonds, gold and foreign exchange. Short-term credits and access to the foreign market were effectively controlled by the Central Bank's low interest rates for new long term loans which governments needed for social reform. When these loans were not available, with a little help from the governor and regents of the bank, large monopolies could topple governments. By the early 1900's, all industrialized countries followed a pattern wherein the medium sized private enterprizes and free trade of liberal capitalism were replaced by grant enterprizes which fixed prices. This transition to "mass democracy," the political compromise based on ruralistic pressure groups, was eventually to lead to strictly enforced deals among groups and the rise of the totalitarian fascist state.

By 1930, the crisis presented by classical liberal capitalism was over. Keynesian economics which advocated state intervention, helped solve the problem. Monopoly and cartel capitalism were able to integrate the individual more and more into the complex of automation; the craftsman lost his skill; management and worker separated; manual and intellectual labor became separate entities. The Authoritarian state, both in its Fascist forms and Stalinist forms, had entered new realms of a "planned economy."

This period also saw the rise of powerful labor unions to combat the rise of a capitalistic hegemony. In 1860, the First International had been unable to form a united front. Each group (anarchists, syndicalists) had proposed their own solution. Consequently, working class solidarity failed. The Second International became a vehicle for parliamentary Marxism. Bernstein in Germany and Adler in Austria, as leaders of the Social Democratic Party, presented a mechanistic retreat from Marxism. In each country a Socialist Party was established to represent the working class, each adopting a Marxist vocabulary.[2]

The Changing World-View:
The Electric Metaphor

In England, by 1880 nature had lost its social authority. The German philosopher, Nietzsche had announced the death of God (1889). In an age where secular and materialist values dominated, God was not needed; religion dwindled as a social presence. Aestheticism built on the French model, with Pater, Whistler and Wilde all advocating the artist's moral autonomy.[3]

In Germany, the apologists for the emerging monopolistic system were Weber, Durkheim and Pareto, who argued for a value-free theory of knowledge.[4] Progress in objectivity was synonymous with the increasing dominance of instrumental rationality over all other criteria of action. Weber's position was critiqued by the Hungarian, Lukács in his History of Class Consciousness[5] wherein he substituted Weber's term rationalization by reification which included both subjective and objective fetishes. Knowledge required mediation in order to defetishize and demystify taken-for-granted phenomena.

This period of transition introduced a new interest in the problem of consciousness and the role of the unconscious. The meaning of time and duration in psychology, philosophy, literature and history became important. Alain-Fournier, Proust and Thomas Mann concerned themselves with the immediacy of past experience in language which was seen as limited in its ability to reproduce no more than fragmentized reality that the rational mind had stored up in neat packages. The task became to penetrate behind the future of political action; behind what Sorel called "myths," Pareto called "derivation," and Mosca called "political formulas" of the time.[6] Psychological processes replaced external reality as the most pressing topic of investigation. Freud, Bergson and James presented their pioneering work in a world which was becoming more and more rational and positivistic.

Significantly, mass culture developed towards the end of the century. In England, the coherent literary and intellectual community of the mid-Victorian era disintegrated. Compulsory education, growth of a mass reading public and the publishing industry geared to cater to its tastes, led to the characteristic gap between a small sophisticated "high-brow" intellectual public and a mass "low-brow" market for cheap literature and picturesque engravings. This was most evident in art education where there occurred a hardening between applied and fine art.

In Germany, mass culture was introduced through the medium of music. Lithography made it possible to flood the market with sheet music.[7] From small intimate concerts given to a small group of patrons, the pianist was promoted to the concert tour. Due to new engraving techniques, orchestral scores could be circulated. Orchestras catered to mass "promenades" in parks. Eventually, grand masters were revised by promoters who allowed orchestras to play their works in large halls. This manipulation of taste through sheet music and tours led to the generation of a group of connoisseurs who told the public what was and was not good. Previous values of learning and entertainment were replaced by selling the virtuosi. Monopolies became established. Tickets were expensive and concerts required advanced booking. Against this development operetta halls, song fests, cafés and bistros flourished in Paris, London, Vienna, Berlin while music halls became the antecedents of early forms of modern nightclubs. It was the resistance of monopoly capitalism to the pressures of a mass demanding cultural outlets which made some taste makers insist on the lofty "seriousness" of art's purposes and its needs for formalization.

Electricity[8] became the new source of energy which eventually led to an increase in the efficiency of plant production through automation. But in human terms, what is significant about electricity is the notion of dematerialization. Although the senses were stimulated by the external field of electromagnetic vibrations, it was up to the mind to compose these vibrations into forms and images and then decide how they were to be presented. These forms or archetypes preceded social organization. They were inherent to the organism. It was no accident that Freud's model of human consciousness was based on an electromagnetic model. He used terms such as energy, shock, tension, discharge, stimulation, inhibition, pain, pleasure, and instinctual energy to write his psychology of mind.

The Emergence of Modern Art and Modern Consciousness

This thesis maintains that the proliferation of art movements which blossomed after Impressionism may be understood as being either critical towards a developing rationalism or as embracing this rationalism in order to expand monopolistic and cartel control. The Impressionists marked a new era in art patronage primarily because they ushered in a new structure for the art world. The new institutional system was the dealer-critic system.[9]

The decline of aristocratic patronage and its heir, the Academic system, was superseded by a critic-dealer system which promoted the artist, not particular paintings. What the artist wanted was a predictable income which the dealers provided by offering him a salary. In turn, by promoting an artist's career, speculation became important. The financial speculation in art found its cultural counterpart in the speculation of taste. The "discerning" buyer would speculate on an aspiring artist who might become a master and be worth a fortune. The notion of master and pupils from the guild, which had carried over to the Academy as "schools," lost favor in this critic-dealer set up. The Impressionist group shows, for example, soon atrophied in favor of one-man shows. The group show was used later by young painters as a publicity method, but only until each was settled with a good dealer. Their custom to paint "series" paintings (e.g., Monet's Haystacks, Water Lilies and Cathedrals) promoted the idea that artistic production and the artistic career was more important than individual masterpieces. One-man shows of living artists became more and more frequent. In 1890, Monet's "series" was given a special dealers' exhibition. It became increasingly important to know the entire oeuvre of the artist to comprehend his meaning. The critic of the Impressionists filled the role as a publicist and ideologue for new painters and theorists. Style and painting became analyzed for the first time. The critic became the educator, instructing the public on how to look at a work rather than how to interpret its subject.

The most daring dealer was Paul Durand-Ruel who became the exclusive dealer for the Impressionists. He bought up private collections and put them on the market at the "right" time. Through substantial advances to painters which were to be paid off in pictures, he managed to maintain a loyal circle of artists. However, the artists soon learned how to play one dealer against another.[10]

The Impressionists were not "bohèmes." Manet and Degas, for example were essentially middle class royalists. Manet was a republican and pacifist and a friend of Zola who himself disregarded Proudhon's socialist view of art, claiming that an artist should be counted as an artist, not simply as a political machine. Berthe Morisot, Degas, Manet and Bazille had all been raised as wealthy bourgeois. Of the Impressionists, only Camille Pissarro had any sympathy for anarchism. The Impressionists on the whole, wanted to become part of the existing social order.[11]

The Impressionists created a support system which was to remain the model through the period of monopoly capitalism. The critics, as men of letters, interpreted the artist to the audience. Specialized avant-garde journals were founded. They were supplemented by the sensationalism of the mass media. The galleries which surveyed the artist's work competed on the open market. The gallery dealer, through shrewdness and a sense of publicity, could promote a whole "school" or individual artist. Most important, they reflected a nationalistic ideology, wherein the values of fortune, ambition, genius and ingenuity accompanied the power motive of high finance.

Aesthetic Theory of the Impressionists

Work by Hartmann, Fechner, Von Helmholtz, together with Fresnel's studies on diffraction and polarized light phenomena presented a paradigm shift towards the incorporation of a subjective element in perception. This intent was adopted by the Impressionists. Both Monet and Pissarro had travelled to London and had seen the work of Turner. Through their experimentations the attempt was made to "treat the subject in terms of tone," and to emphasize that theirs was an attempt to paint what they saw - their first spontaneous impressions, uninhibited by conventional interpretations of the subject or by previous experience with it. This approach suggested that reality was indeed a series of discrete psychophysical impressions and that it was only with mental conceptualization that the idea of a concrete object came into existence. "Impressions, after all, [were] not purely individual products of the artist, exclusively determined from within, but passive and dependent on the world outside."[12] Earlier Manet had advocated pure painting which meant the deduction to the visual as a complete world grasped directly as a structure of tones, without intervention of ideas or feelings about the represented object. He treated all things as objects. Even the human body was presented dispassionately.[13]

The Impressionists introduced "beauty" in concretely verifiable terms. Later, manifestations of this value-free empiricism meant a redefinition of color-theory. By stepping from the static color wheel view presented by the Academy out into the sunshine, a phenomenalism was introduced. Color of an object was a blend or synthesis of its own color with the colors reflected by surrounding objects, modified by atmospheric conditions. Their study of shadows showed that the areas exposed to the sun determined the colors of adjacent areas in shadow. So the group gave up the established axiomatic way of indicating shadows, which was to use more and more somber colors the farther the shadowed objects were removed from the source of light. This serialization presented a heuristic aesthetic approach.

In sculpture, the name of Rodin stands out. Rodin's achievement was to destroy the base, which had been the convention for rooting art to surrounding reality while permitting it to stand apart.[14] The base created the aura of a cult object characteristic of all sculpture up until the fin de siècle. By incorporating the base as part of the work, a greater realism was achieved. Degas and Rosso, along with Rodin were the first to realize its possibilities.

Aesthetics of the Neo-Impressionists

The Neo-Impressionists solidified the tenets begun by the Impressionists. Seurat, Signac, Maximillian Luce and Pissarro all employed a "scientific" approach to their work. Following a generation later, they felt the loss of individualism much more than the Impressionists. Many were sympathetic towards anarchism, hence, individualism. Although their work depicted the industrial suburbs - factories, railroads, poor quarters and working men, their vision romanticized the worker. Seurat's paintings of circus figures appear in isolation not only from society but from each other. Furthermore, many artists contributed to the anarchistic magazine Les Temps Nouveaux; the Dreyfus Affair being the catalyst which increased their hatred of the government.

Pissarro, in a letter dated November 6, 1886 clarified his aesthetic position by stating that his art was a synthesis of the color theory discovered by M. Chevreul who did extensive work on the theory of color as Director of the Gobelins Tapestry Works and N. O. Rood (1831-1902) an American physicist who had made extensive studies on quantitative analysis of color contrasts.[15]

Seurat also exemplified this scientific approach by developing an artistic "monadology." He was influenced by Charles Henry[16] according to whom the form was a mental abstraction visually represented by lines, and these lines were a visual abstraction representing directions internally felt. Reality was nothing other than these directions which were experienced by psychic impulses, moods, feelings and thoughts. Seurat embraced this direction. For him the problem the artist had to consider was which were agreeable and disagreeable associations. In Henry's schema the purpose of art was to dynamogenize or synthesize consciousness and to create a sense of continuity of behavior. Seurat exploited this dictum through simultaneous contrast. His main aesthetic tenet was harmony: the analogy of contraries, the analogy of similarities in tone, color and line considering the aspect of the dominant one (tone, color or line) and under the influence of lighting in gay, calm or sad combinations. According to his theory, contraries consisted of light tones contrasting with dark ones; complementary colors were considered contraries and right angled lines were contraries. Gaiety was achieved if light tones were dominant with a warm color and when lines were employed which were above the horizontal plane. Calmness was the achievement of equality of light and dark tones with equal mixes of warm and cool colors and the use of horizontal line. Finally, sadness was the achievement of darkened tones, cool colors and lines below the horizon.

Clearly, Seurat has presented a transformational, closed system aesthetic. He isolated concrete parts (elements like line, color, shade, tone) from the whole (a synthesis) and argued that their rearrangement would produce different expressions (sadness, calmness, gaiety). Signac was to build on this, calling his aesthetic a divisionist technique as opposed to the "pointille" one because the employment of dabs of color assured luminous, colorful and equilibriamatic effects.

Positivist aesthetics as developed by the Neo-Impressionists may be labelled Formalism or Structuralism and can be summarized as follows: 1) the aesthetic value of a work of art lies in its internal harmony of simple elements; 2) this internal harmony can be explicated by an analytic aesthetic; 3) the painter may achieve this harmony by the application of scientific technique. The good Neo-Impressionist painting was the bringing together of disparate elements and fusing them into a harmonious unit.[17]

We may parenthetically add that music theory followed this aesthetic about the same time. The symphony allowed the employment of numerous disparate and heterogeneous elements to be placed in a unity at the single organismic level. Like Seurat's line, color, tone, shade, this type of music theory employed the elements of differentiation of rhythm, sound and silence, volume, tone, color, ascendency and descendency of melodic movement, disjunct or conjunct thematic structures. All these elements could be manipulated and logically bound together.[18]

Aesthetic Theory of the Post-Impressionists

The shift towards more phenomenological aesthetic theories occurred with Cézanne and Van Gogh who were the transitionary figures towards either a more positivist approach, which was the line taken by the Cubists and the New Objectivity, or towards a more critical subjectivist approach, initiated by the Symbolists, Fauves and Expressionistic movements, whose momentum lasted until World War I. Cézanne's position represents the contradictions of the age, the antinomy which existed between recognition of artistic subjectivity and a value-free objectivity. In many respects Cézanne's art theory was a translation of Bergsonian metaphysics. Bergson claimed that in the division of reality between time and space, that which was living was found in time and that which was inorganic was found in space. Life was a dynamic urge, an _élan vital_, which propelled it through time and which brought to fruition all the multiple variations of living things. Reason was the power by which the world of space became known while intuition (inner feelings) was the principle by which the world of time with its living moment was perceived. Reason yielded relative knowledge, while intuition provided absolute knowledge. Reason was symbolic, linguistic description, presenting a limited phase of an object. Intuition, however, was immediate and direct. Hence, Bergson provided the dichotomy between analytic, scientific knowledge and intuitive expressive knowledge.

Cézanne gave expression to Bergsonian metaphysics by rejecting the notion that visual sensations were primarily those of the luminous surface of bodies. He raised the questions, how much of what is given in sense perception, is to be attributed to the external world and how much is attributable to our intellectualizations? Cézanne's answer, the categories of the cylinder, the sphere and the cone were the major presuppositions underlying the artist's approach to nature.

This was the deep structure of art; the beginning of a structuralist aesthetic.[19]

Cézanne's paintings offer little of human interest in their subjects.[20] They are not paintings of a countryside, a promenade, of vacationists, or picnic groups, as an impression; the roads are empty and most often the vistas have no paths at all. Many of Cézanne's landscapes are seen from an elevation and are cut off from the viewer by a foreground of parallel bands or by some obstacles such as trees. The observer is invited to look but not enter into the space. Nature is admired and isolated. It exists for the observer's eye; it has little provision for the observer's desires or curiosity. Exploration of the space of nature is through vision alone.

Cézanne was colorist and composer. His vision was of a man who dealt with his perceptions, steeping himself serenely in the world of the eye. The strokes of high-keyed color which the Impressionists used to dissolve objects into atmosphere and sunlight, Cézanne applied towards solid objects. Through such a method, Cézanne was the first to introduce a truly subjective element; through successive perceptions he put together a composition rather than completing one coordinating perception as had been the case with geometrical perspective of Renaissance art. Through tilting vertical objects, discontinuing and shifting levels of segments of an interrupted horizontal edge, Cézanne contributed to the effect of a perpetual searching and balancing of forms, something no camera could ever do. This was an early introduction of synchronic time, later picked up by the Futurists.

These constructed, "multiple viewpoints" were evident in his use of vertical lines, in walls, in tree trunks, in bottles. Through this method, he was making the observer aware of the way things occurred in perception when the observer realized that the apparent size and shape of an object (or part of an object) changed when it was brought together. This then was the phenomenological side of Cézanne's work.[21]

Such a constructivist approach (like that of a composer) did not show merely cool, habitual calculation. There was also evidence of spontaneity, yet the spaces he picked allowed him to contemplate nature and to present an extraordinary calm and a suspension of desire. His still-lifes, for example, were distanced from every appetite except the aesthetic-contemplated one. They did not reflect man's dominance over nature. The world of proximate things, like the distant landscape, existed for Cézanne as something to be contemplated rather than used, and it existed in a kind of pre-human, natural disorder which had to be first mastered by the artist's method of construction. Even his human beings reflect the same qualities as inanimate objects. His card players portray a moment of concentration, not greed, deception or anxiety. Painting was a process outside the historical stream of social life. It was a closed personal action in which the artist, viewing nature as a world of variable colors and forms, selected from it in slow succession, after deliberating the consequence of each choice for the whole, the elements of his picture. Like Husserl searching for pure consciousness, Cézanne searched the directly seen world, finding his court of appeal in the categories of the cylinder, sphere and cone. Using a "blunting of convergence" technique (convergence of foreshortened lines which tended to be blunted and hence slowed down the inward movement into the picture place), Cézanne was able to stop the dramatic inward movement of perspective, so successfully used during the Renaissance. He would "square" curved forms like the ellipses of pots and dishes, or he would make planes reappear at different planes, a technique later successfully employed by the Cubists.

Diversification

Cézanne's theory represented a crossroad in artistic theory. Two directions developed as a result of his efforts. The first was represented by the Cubists and intellectualists like the Constructivists and Members of the New Objectivity who had a great faith in material progress and technology, evidenced in the science fiction of Jules Verne; the other path was mapped out by the Symbolists, Fauves and Expressionists who rejected this "progress," echoing Husserl's Crisis of Western Thought. It may be that the Symbolists and Nabis represented the first artistic "ethnographers" who developed a consistent emic approach, for they grounded the intellect and emotion of their life-world in the symbols of a culture they adopted as their own. Much of their travelling was facilitated by colonial expansion. Gauguin, for instance, immersed himself in the art of Brittany and later the South Pacific; Van Gogh became an evangelist amongst the coal miners of the Borinage in Belgium and later worked in Holland;

Toulouse-Lautrec travelled extensively; Lawrence went to Mexico. Europe was swept up with primitivism, the Far East and colonial domination in general.

Gauguin spent seven to eight months in concentration in order to penetrate the character of his subjects. He lived in a particular landscape and amongst its people in order to have an adequate experience to express. A primitive in search of a simple life, he brought into being the lived reality of the Breton peasant. His paintings were arranged with a double plot to show the contradiction of an everyday situation. He posited two worlds; that of the actual landscape (everyday life) and the world of dreams, of religion, creating an empathy with the "primitive" mind.[22]

Whereas Gauguin's vision was representative of the enthnographical influence in art, Van Gogh represents a working out of one man's subjectivity. Like all "primitives," Van Gogh was influenced by Japanese Art, African and Oceanic Art.[23] His main contribution was his revival of portraiture and his stress on "things-themselves." Van Gogh's portraits are of plain people caught in their human uniqueness with unfailing sympathy. He portrays their "inside view." They are not the heroic figures of the past. He did away with dark shadows which older portraiture required for dramatic effects and smoothness of skin. His pictures are "made" of rough pigment and texture. Chords of red and green bring the face into the open air and convert the skin into a coarser, tougher substance. The face becomes a landscape, a keyboard of suggestive feelings. The face reflects feelings, change and intensity. Van Gogh paints brilliant yellow and deep blue backgrounds elevating common subjects to iconic status through symbolic use of color.

Van Gogh constructed his objects. He used strong dark lines to draw around trees, heads, faces. When he came as a foreigner to Arles, a strange town, he painted everything - day and night scenes, people, children, a whole family, houses, cafés, streets, his own room, the surrounding countryside - as if he entered completely into this new milieu. Van Gogh was a topological thinker,; he needed objectivity to get the inside view of himself. Faces, flowers, roads, fields, his shoes, his chair, his hat and pipe, the utensils on his table, all these personal objects reflected his personality. They were the extensions of his being; they contained the qualities and conditions necessary for his health of mind. His paintings were an exercise in existential phenomenology. He did not turn towards an inner world of fantasy that would console him, but painted real things in their most vivid presence.[24]

Symbolist Aesthetics

Maurice Denis,[25] in his manifesto in 1890, entitled Definition du neo-traditionisme gave expression to the aesthetic doctrine of symbolism. Denis denied that one should identify a painting as a picture of something; he argued that subject matter was secondary. The intention of the artist became primary. The artist was no longer to be bound by a relationship between his picture and any natural object in respect to form and color. These qualities could become variable in the interests of expressive power. The symbol embodied the artistic emotion. Distortion or "awkwardness" was treated by Denis as a way of painting objects according to the consciousness the painter had of them naturally, rather than according to preconceived ideas of a realist aesthetic. Nature was seen through an artistic temperament.

All intuitionalist aesthetic theories held that artistic activity expressed the artist's interior feelings. Denis and Matisse, for instance, stated that the feelings of the artist were expressed through the colors, or through the forms or through the composition, but they did not attribute feeling as arising from any particular arrangement of elements (as the Neo-Impressionists held.). The artist's sensibility guided his arrangement and told him when a satisfactory rendition of his emotions was complete. The painting was a symbol of the painter's psychic state with the spectator immediately aware of this emotional content in the work.[26]

The Symbolists bitterly rejected natural "science" and realist art. They were essentially anarchists, admirers of Kropotkin.[27] Albert Aurier's (1897) solution was a mysticism based on love, by which he meant the ability to penetrate the things-in-themselves. Those things-in-themselves were not Platonic Ideas, but Ideas which could be translated through a special symbolic language. Ideas or essences became the deep structure for the Symbolists for which paintings were signs or appearances. The signs of Ideas were the illusions man lived with. The viewer's job was to see through signs to get at their meaning. An eidetic work made this possible through the artist choosing partial symbols which corroborated the general symbol. This was usually done through attenuation and deformation of various elements so that the needs of the Idea could be expressed. Symbolic works were essentially a language wherein the viewer could understand the signs once he learnt the competencies. This theory liberated the ethnocentricity of art, as had Gauguin. Things were no longer objects but signs of an Idea perceived by the subject.[28]

Symbolism was yet another strand of phenomenology. Ideistic art was simple, spontaneous and primordial. Emotivity or aesthetic experience was attained when the Idea or Symbol was understood. To make visible the invisible (the interior world) characterized the reaction against Impressionism which had sought to make visible the exterior world. Odilon Redon extended this task in his attempt to give his most fantastic creations of mind the illusion of life. Inanimate objects developed a life form of their own. In sum, the Symbolists, as well as the Fauves who followed, represented various forms of empathy theory. *Einfühlung*, a word first coined by Robert Vischer in 1873 and E. Vernon (1878) in France was descriptive of the act by which one projected into the object before him his own psychic feelings. In the classical formulation of the doctrine made by Lipps, the relations of various formal elements such as design or color had to match particular emotions.[29]

The Making of the Avant-Garde

The group of artists who formed the movements of Expressionism and Fauvism were largely the sons and daughters of a middle class which had been squeezed out by the developing monopoly capitalism.[30] Of the eighty-three major Expressionist painters, seventeen percent were children of musicians, painters and decorative artists; forty-five percent belonged to non-artistic professions, namely commercial and professional ranks - engineers, civil servants, administrators, merchants. Only ten percent were aristocrats or came from wealthy families.[31]

The Expressionists however, rejected their middle class values. They followed the lead of the l'art pour l'art movement.[32] From 1900-1914 the Expressionist Movement split in three directions. One group left the big cities, unable to "stomach" reality. Artists such as Chagall and Marc turned to childhood memories. The Blaue Reiter, for example, adopted the folk art of Bavaria and Austria, as well as primitive and children's drawings. Another group, the majority, stayed in the poor sectors of the major cities of Paris, London, Berlin and Munich. Artists such as Munch and Rouault characterized the alienation and anguish of bureaucratized man through such symbols as the clown (echoing Baudelaire) and the deformed ghost-like figures of Munch's world which represented people who had lost all sense of human love. Kirchner, too, painted the modern crowd. His figures were bunched together on sidewalks, remaining distant, cold and anonymous, facing away from each other.

The last group attempted communal life in the city. They lived with their models, painted nudes outside and created a unique environment by painting their own furniture and decorating their walls with frescoes - a common Expressionistic activity. After the war, the first group became even more leftist while the other two groups disbanded; some joined the Bauhaus, others carried on into Surrealism and Dada.

Parenthetically, we may add that the Fauvists (1904-1907) essentially carried on from the Symbolists, acting as a link to Expressionism which became dominant in the pre-war period. Matisse also searched for "essences" or Ideas.[33] Fauves like Vlaminck tried anarchism but settled for revenge on canvas.

Expressionistic Aesthetic Consciousness

The examination of Expressionistic aesthetic theories reveals an expanded phenomenological programme built on the shoulders of the Post-Impressionists and the transitory figures I have discussed. Die Brücke was the first to attempt such a program. They all worked together and based drawing on the notion that the artist had to subordinate himself to direct experience. Each one drew and wrote his ideas, one next to the other, in a book. In this way their individual qualities were conflated. Die Brücke members were interested in the notion of Self; to delve into the psyche in order to understand the Other. The extreme case was Munch in Norway who reworked some of his paintings for ten years and refused to part with them. Others like Kirchner, reworked a picture for weeks or even months in order to achieve an ultimate expression.[34]

The Blaue Reiter (1911), founded by Kandinsky and Marc, developed a more sophisticated psychology. In an age where visibility now meant international reputation, this group was able to effectively gain membership in Germany, Austria, Italy, Russia and even a few members in America.[35] There was no Blaue Reiter style; their aim was to convey a spiritual "truth." For Kandinsky, founder of "abstract" art, this was to get at the Creative Spirit which was hidden behind matter. Kandinsky[36] had a view of evolution, of change. This was primarily why he termed the group a movement - an active force which created new growth. It introduced a relativism, which was only hinted at by members of Die Brücke. There were many forms, he argued, each an imprint of an artistic personality. There could be, at one and the same time, many different good forms. Ultimately, however, Kandinsky's grand scheme was based on an ethical principle - "whether or not a form result[ed] from inner necessity."[37] It did not matter whether a form was personal, national, had style of corresponded to a major contemporary movement. What was important was the achievement of a greater spirituality in the world. Kandinsky presented a Neo-Hegelianism, a closed evolutionary system where inner growth required freedom to expand the prevailing limits.

This Neo-Hegelianism led Kandinsky to develop a theory of abstraction which introduced a form of dialectical color theory. The axiom, the quantitative reduction of the abstract is related to its qualitative intensification, meant that a small spot of color could lose its intensity and effectiveness if it was made larger and more striking. Color could be made vivid and active through restraint; sweet colors could produce painful sounds. Kandinsky attempted to combine science and feeling together as part and parcel of his theory of abstraction. By reducing the minimum "representational" elements, a new intensity or qualitative level was reached.

Kandinsky thought that he was extracting the inner sound (inner Klang) or inner life - the élan vital, from objects and representing them through elements of line, color, shape, planes, and spots in a scientific way. Abstraction became the antithesis of realism while the picture was the synthesis of these two positions. Kandinsky also realized the relativism of his position - an uncertainty principle. External effects could differ from inner ones as determined by the object's inner sound. Yet the elements functioned as things-themselves, free of the cultural baggage attached to them; their inner sound was not muffled. Form no longer became a problem because abstraction had the same goal as realism: to convey the "life" of an object. In a positivistic vein, he felt that through the right combination of realism and abstraction any inner experience could be expressed with absolute and scientific precision.

Expressionists like Marc, Macke and Klee respected primitivism and folk art, but they also saw the child as being able to express the phenomenological view of things. Children were said to experience the world with unspoiled eyes, freed from conventions and practical meaning. Without exception, every child could reveal the inner sound of objects. Many children's paintings were hung alongside those of the Expressionists. They extended this critique to include amateur artists like Henri Rousseau. Being such individualists, the Expressionists refused to outline a fixed standard art curriculum.[38] The stress on self meant responsibility to create one's inner harmony by whatever means suitable; even copying was condoned. History would be the judge.[39] To quote Nolde,

> There is no firm esthetic rule. The artist creates a work according to his nature and instincts. He himself stands astonished before the result, and others with him and only gradually does the new allow itself to be grasped rationally or put into esthetic rules. Art wants to give itself. It does not want to be dictated to either by the will or by reason.[40]

Aesthetic Consciousness Between the Wars (1917-1933): The Transition to Monopoly Capitalism

The Second International, believing in an evolutionary Marxism, thought that socialism would have been the next natural stage in social progress. It did not materialize. Lenin, Korsh, Luxembourg and Hiferding had realized that the new type of capitalism had emerged after World War I - a capitalism no longer based on democratic and peaceful means of traditional socialism and trade unionism. The new evolved monopolistic capitalism gradually became capable of regulating the economy. It found the means of preventing crises which had appeared as natural causes. World War I also increased government interventionist policies. This was not simply a passing phase as the Second International had thought. With the Versailles Treaty, the victors demanded reparations, thereby interfering with the defeated country's economic development. The result was a "planned" capitalistic economic system which ignored the "natural" laws of production.

Capitalist state intervention in the functioning of the economy became the norm. However, new markets could not be found anywhere except amongst workers and employers within the capitalist industry. This became a fundamental prerequisite for the maintenance of capitalism and therefore it became of vital interest for the capitalist class to make sure that the proletariat and other strata living on wages and salaries would constantly present a demand for new consumer goods provided by national capitalism. Through political means and mass media advertising, a constant flow of goods was assured both for contrived and basic needs.

The state played a greater direct role in the economy, partly through huge enterprizes financed by the state and producing a considerable percentage of the national income, and partly through a financial and credit policy affecting private enterprizes. This economic guidance within the framework of a manipulated democracy was exemplified by Roosevelt's New Deal and German National Socialism.[41] The basic difference between a parliamentary democracy and Fascism, as Trotsky pointed out, was that the Fascist regime relied on the petty middle class for exploitation and oppression; while the former relied on worker exploitation. Needless to say, parliamentary democracy was more for the workers' interests, resulting in an economy of abundance.

Aesthetic Values of the Futurists

One country which elected to come down hard on the proletariat and which enlisted Fascist government to preserve a capitalist structure, was Italy. The dominant art mode there in the 1930's was Futurism. If anarchists had believed that man was naturally good, requiring no government control, the Futurists took the opposite view.[42] Man was an animal. In the spirit of social Darwinist ideology, the weak (*passatisti*) would perish and the fit (*futuristi*) would survive, wrote Marinetti. Wanting to industrialize Italy, their manifestos praised energy, rioting, danger, violence, war, militarism and patriotism. They declared war on museums, libraries and all *passatisti*. Working with an "electric" metaphor, their principle of "dynamism" was an emphasis on speed and mechanical energy. Their attempt to capture discrete moments in time, as it pulsated, flowered, vibrated, emoted in the noisy life of a burgeoning industrial city was to become the early antecedent for a kinetic art. A pure plastic rhythm was sought for; a construction of the *action* of the *action* of bodies. Sculpture was to provide the experience of this new form-force dynamism which "expressed the body in its material movements." Each profile carried with it a clue to the next profile, with all the profiles forming the sculptural whole.[43]

The Weimar Republic and the Aesthetic Theories of the Left

The Weimar Republic was one of the critical hotbeds between the wars. Before 1914, under the Wilhelmian monarchy it was the seat for Husserl, Weber, Simmel and Tönnies' critiques. Literary and artistic Expressionists flourished; a second generation of Marxists fought ideological battles and of course Die Brucke and Blaue Reiter developed phenomenological aesthetic theories there. This new intelligentsia,[44] as the opposition against academic and feudal patronage had strong left leanings but were unable to agree as a collective force.[45] The war had split them up into a number of distinctive groups. There was a pacifist group; another group, the more active Communists, formed the "messianic Expressionists;" another group left for Amsterdam, New York, Lisbon, Geneva, Barcelona and Zurich where they began the Dada protest movements. The rest formed a politically unattached radical Left.

Kandinsky before the war, had developed the St. Simonian notions of the avant-garde; now the German intellectual Left of the twentieth century, as an interest group used the seemingly paradoxical notion that the avant-garde was "élitist with respect to the present, but democratic with respect to the future."[46] They were the true carriers of "progress" which had become extremely problematic within monopoly capitalism.

The development of Marxist aesthetic philosophy had been the achievement of Görgy Lukács; however, his inability to go beyond "realism" which dealt with "typical figures enacting the contradictions of the period,"[47] resulted in his conclusion that Modernism, i.e., Expressionism, was essentially caught up with surface phenomena and unable to get at the true "essence" of reality, which of course Realism had.

Lukács claimed that a writer could represent reality as it truly was - to go beyond surface appearances. When experiencing the work, the underlying essence of reality appeared immediate - it presented "life" as it truly was. His Neo-Hegelianism was a disguised Positivism. In History and Class Consciousness, he claimed that the true subject of history was the proletariat. Only they were able to "see" through the fog. The realization of proletarian self-interest was identified with this "higher truth" hence, the duality between subject and object was eliminated.

With this identity thesis, Lukács had presented a closed system. The category of totality was presented as a form of alienation. "In order to know an object thoroughly, it is essential to discover and comprehend all of its aspects, its relationships and its 'mediations'. We shall never achieve this fully, but insistence on all-round knowledge will protect us from errors and inflexibility (G. L. italics)."[48] The consequence of this positivist position meant that Lukacs believed that an objective conception of reality existed, accessible only to a privileged few, i.e., realist writers and artists. The Frankfurt School of the Weimar Republic criticized his position.[49]

Within the Frankfurt School itself, two main conflicting aesthetic positions existed, formulated by Adorno and Benjamin. Benjamin's most significant essay regarding aesthetic theory was the "Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction,"[50] which was an attempt to analyze art under the new burgeoning monopoly capitalism. Stressing reproduction, Benjamin argued that the artwork had lost its "aura" or authenticity. The cultural, in transforming the natural, was losing the subject; culture was becoming automated.

The lost cultural heritage was due to the closer examination of processes (i.e., time and motion studies) which he interpreted as loss of distance required for the appreciation of the "aura." The intellectualization of the work of art resulted in the loss of fascination and the cult value needed for appreciation. The new reproduction process made the eye artificial; the object had to be pried from its shell, from its "human encasement" which resulted in a sense of uniformity, a "universal quality of all things."

From this analysis, Benjamin concluded that the "end of art" and the destruction of the community had occurred. Questions of the "authentic self" emerged. The category of "genius" had become secularized. The first reaction to this loss had been the theological reaction of l'art pour l'art, he argued. The present reaction was a political one. "For the first time in world history, mechanical reproduction emancipates the work from its parasitical dependence on ritual."[51] It now had "exhibition values;" that is, a political message. Information became important. Benjamin contrasted the painter and the cameraman to make his point. The painter was a magician, he had to keep his distance; while the cameraman was a surgeon who attempted to penetrate into the semantic nexus of life. The cameraman had to deal with assemblage - a construction under a new law. This montage called for a self-reflective critique. Film was suited for mass collective experience. The audience had a chance to reject or complete an intrinsically unfinished work.

This line of thought was, perhaps, an extension of his earliest work, The Origins of German Drama.[52] There, he claimed that allegory was the art-aesthetic principle within art itself. The allegories of Baroque and by implication those of Romanticism and the twentieth century represented modes of expression which had a transcendent value. Allegories lost their immediate relationship to intersubjective evident meanings; however, if one possessed the "key" the more transcendent human values, such as hope, love, friendship and charity could be achieved. Benjamin hoped that such values could be attained through the montage aesthetic. This would expand the availability of art's potential liberating force, whereas the allegory was accessible to only artistic epigones like the romantics, whose metaphysical home had been the Middle Ages.

Benjamin took this position primarily as an alternative to Fascist aesthetic theories which used cultic aesthetic values such as sentimentality and nostalgia with great effect. His frame of mind changed when the Nazis began to apply film, radio and news as a means for propaganda. He rejected his former brand of Formalism and reworked the notion of the loss of aura, which he determined as a shared collective memeory which lies at the base of communication.[53] He now turned to a phenomenological-existential psychology wherein the aura became the mediator between the subject and object - the link between the contents of the "individual past combined with materials of the collective past."[54] Inanimate things hold a reciprocal gaze" of shared experience. No longer were the new means of reproduction seen as the major cause of the aura's decline, merely one symptom in the total destruction of community.

Adorno's critique of Benjamin's position makes his own system explicit.[55] The major argument centers around Benjamin's failure to realize that allegorical works, which renounced the ideal of beauty and which presented the crisis state of society, did not "participate" in the reproduction of either the Fascist state or capitalist society. In short, the very fact that they lost their aura made them critical.

Adorno's critique came in a number of forms. Against the Baudelaire thesis he criticized Benjamin's use of "dialectical image" (Dialektic im Stillstand) where Benjamin had attempted to juxtapose images without presenting a resolution. It was a non-authoritarian way of presenting contradictions and paradoxes. Adorno felt that this had no relationship to reality. He was also critical of Benjamin's and Brecht's anarchist tendency which saw the proletariat spontaneously conscientized and revolutionized. His own position was closer to that of Lenin and the Russian avant-garde who insisted on an intellectual élite.

Adorno's critique of "culture industry" pointed out that the media could create an artificial aura - the hype of the starlet and star presented the new cult value. They became commodities to be consumed. Advertisement conditioned passivity and manipulated the controlled response through behavior modification techniques. In "The Culture Industry: Enlightenment as Mass Deception,"[56] Adorno presents the thesis that the culture industry makes every effort to conform its audience into passive consumers of reality; a strong Freudian slant appears in the assertion that the culture industry represses the libido rather than sublimating it. Adorno then extends this thesis, claiming that an autonomous artwork could be critical only "when it reflects on the contemporary crisis of culture and takes the reduced fragments of the present into its form principle."[57] Avant-garde works were de-magicized and advanced technologically. They were apolitical - they did not participate in the culture industry nor did they possess traditional cult value.

Adorno's own theory led to its own legitimation crisis - a state of antinomy.[58] Autonomous or formalist art resisted the market orientation and so it remained inaccessible to the masses. If it became useful it lost its identity (autonomy) - its potential for critique. Adorno gradually moved to the position, where he saw *authentic or genuine* artworks as only accessible to experts for *genuine* consumption.[59] He himself admitted the difficulty of this position. However, he found consolation in the fact that there was always a ready supply of greater esoteric art which kept the critique of society alive.

What Adorno presented was really a Neo-Kantian position. He was essentially advocating works of art which demanded a "disinterested" perception. Autonomous works' particular power was in their non-involvement in the "interests" which structured a given reality. "Everything aesthetic is something individual and is thus an exception by virtue of its own principle."[60] The "aesthetic principle of individualization" was the directive. The artist had to devise counter-realities through alternative transcendental ideas which had been ignored, invisible or suppressed, but nevertheless, were concrete potentials of a given historical situation. The aim of art was to present a utopian principle which would not be dominant; to project an as-yet unformed possibility. The experiencing of this potential subversity is translated as a Kantian explication of aesthetic experience. In the separate realm of art, the antagonism between the real and the possible (is-ought) could be momentarily and partially reconciled. Through this illusionary reconciliation another reality presented itself. Art was hence a search for truth, a projection for a new potential. The artist tried to sustain the subject-object dialectic - pure subjectivity would lead to a formalism, while pure objectivity would lead to a naturalism.

Parenthetically, we may note that the artistic practice of the theories we have discussed was initiated by Brecht, Grosz, Otto Dix and Heartfield. All presented a political satire towards the depravity of the human condition in Germany. Grosz's Ecce Homo, for example, ridiculed army life, the new technocrats and prostitution while Heartfield's photomontages ridiculed the growing Nazi regime.[61]

Aesthetic Theories of the Right: Retreat to Functionalism

The period between the wars could be characterized as the "New Sobriety."[62] The new needs for automation and the victory of monopoly capitalism required the integration of art and science wedded to industry. This became a primary educational concern, summed up as a new functionalism by the slogan "form follows function." With a planned economy this intent seemed honorable: to bring art to the people through improved housing and better consumer goods. If drama had been the primary art form of the Weimar Republic, architecture and industrial design now became the predominant art pursuits, while the camera became the vehicle for the expression of the bourgeois sentimental aesthetic which treated art as a diversion to stimulate senses and emotions which were otherwise atrophied by alienated labor. The beginnings of mass culture, primarily in the publishing fields, furthered the entertainment industry. Portraiture increased and by 1893 the movie camera and motion pictures had been invented. As Benjamin had argued, art lost its aura but at the same time it ensured that professional "finished look." With serialism becoming a reality, artists like Renoir stressed irregularity, while Ruskin and Morris insisted on built-in flaws.

Siegfried Giedion, in his book, Mechanization Takes Command,[63] points to the numerous inventions brought about by the demand for new principles of design which would meet the expansion of cartel capitalism with its stress on scientific management of the assembly line. Taylorism had been born. Steel mills, arsenals, ferro-concrete constructions and ball-bearing works were seen as closed organisms. This functional (formalism) metaphor was a retreat from the open-ended evolutionary approach. The home, farm, church, government department and business were all to be treated as efficient factories.

Antecedents for this functionalism can be seen in the two prewar theories of Avenarius (1843-1896) and Mach (1838-1916).[64] Avenarius introduced the notion of homeostatics which was to become a building block for the science of bio-physics of the early twentieth century. Avenarius treated all cognition as a biological fact associated with the central nervous system. Every cognitive art aimed at restoring the balance of the organism exposed to the environment. The introduction of a feedback loop or a form of the dialectic of self-reflection introduced the notion of a self-regulating mechanism. Experience was not identical with the contents of sense impression because traces of earlier impressions always helped to determine the content of present ones.

Along with this formulation came the principle of economy. Avenarius claimed that this was a biological law of the central nervous system. The mind had a tendency to economize concepts and laws; hypotheses were shorthand for qualities recurring in experiments; the same argument Kandinsky had formulated abstractly was now made concrete. The law of economy eliminated those components which would be superfluous for effective assimilation.

Mach (1838-1916) presented a formalist psychology.[65] In his case, cognition consisted of certain complexes of qualities which were called elements. These elements were a neutral but specific mode of cognitive organization. Color, sound, space, time, all the primary and secondary qualities were called things or facts to the extent that they were linked together in a permanent combination. Facts became the essence of reality.[66] Ego and body were reduced to fact. Facts were the numerical world because consciousness had become reified as a "homogeneous element." Elements were termed "sensations" or "impressions."

From these two theorists one can see how the Darwinian notion of adaptation found its translation in positivism. Adaptation was equivalent to the Hegelian dialectic. Transcendental authority was replaced by a man-made intellectual system which was to lead to Pierce's and Dewey's pragmatism. Avenarius presented an evolutionary approach while Mach was a closed system thinker.

Boccioni's Futurist manifesto was essentially Avenarius' proposal. "My inspiration, "he wrote, "seeks through assiduous research, a complete fusion of environment and object, by means of the *inter-*

penetration of the planes. I propose to make the object live in its surroundings without making it the slave of fixed or artificial light, or of a supporting plane."[67] The main contribution and the progressive element of Boccioni's futurism was the awareness that the environment or atmosphere which surrounded things required a place in sculpture. It is no accident that the notion of "aura" as some electromagnetic force surrounding an artwork became part of the electrovitalist vocabulary.

Time and motion studies, to break down the human work process in order to facilitate management psychology, were intimately intertwined with the new industrial schools advocating the Sachlichkeit philosophy, a term which signifies a mixture of utility, sobriety, practicality and objectivity.[68] The motion-picture camera became the key for the study of movement. With the aid of the cyclograph, Gilbreth provided the first objective line drawing of the movement of a particular action. A "pure" path as well as a time element constituted the movement. This appears to be a short step to Klee's Pedagogical Sketchbook whose succinct comment of "just taking a walk with a line," appears as a good translation of the structural-functional position. In fact, in 1921, he extended his motion symbols in an attempt to portray man by way of an "organic abstraction."

Against the theories of Avenarius and Mach a critical opposition under the catch-phrase of "conventionalism"[69] challenged the notion of fact, arguing that an ontology could not be divorced from an epistemology. What were taken as nomological laws which described the world based on recording and generalization of experiments, were nothing more than artificial models which were regarded as true, not because one was compelled to do so for empirical reasons, but because they were convenient, useful, or had an aesthetic appeal. The data of experience allowed for more than one explanation. Which one was chosen could not be determined by experience. Choice based on non-empirical circumstances had to be accounted for. Under such a theory antinomy presented itself once more. Planck's wave and particle theory exemplified this approach. Heisenberg's uncertainty principle made it obvious that instrumentation, as human intervention, already presupposed hidden assumptions; i.e., the reading of a thermometer assumed that bodies expanded uniformly under heat - an assumption "built into" the thermometer. Coherence and convenience became new values for truth. Much of this development was due to the nature of electricity and the hidden world of sub-atomic particles which was just beginning to be explored around the turn of the century. Unseen particles and currents needed operational models, both linguistic and visual.[70] It is this type of theory that Klee developed. He continued the more open-ended paribus ceteris approach to art education; a conventionalism explored to its limits. Even a cursory examination of Klee's Pedagogical Notebook (1925)[71] reveals that his concern was the unity of one with the whole: that is, what were the limits and possibilities of a single form, or what were the varieties of personality a single form could take within a bounded structure which itself needed to be made visible? "Artistic activity performs an ever-widening circle until it finally touches the furthermost limits of the universe and returns to the point of maximum intensity -

that point is the form."[72] His book is filled with the exploration of a single variant form, attempting all kinds of "resolutions." It was a "rationality without formulas," a "controlled harmony of free movement."

> We wish to be exact, but without limitations; limitation is logic and calculation which determines the mechanism of modern productive techniques, the techniques of industry. We do not wish to destroy these techniques which possess almost unlimited possibilities: we want to develop them into more subtle and penetrating techniques harnessing both action and knowledge, manual and mental activity.[73]

Klee had presented an "open" structuralist aesthetic. However, this was not to be the dominant aesthetic ideology during Weimar days, nor in all Europe for that matter. Automation and big industry required highly rationalized production techniques. All artists in these newly established technical schools concerned themselves with the general problem of reducing quantity into quality - a parsimonious law which would "solve" the industrial problem. This immutable minimum for Klee had been translated as a relativism; the apologists for industry translated the notion of "form follows function" as an immutable law. This position became known as Formalism.

Formalism: The Apologist Aesthetic

Russia

Before the Revolution, Tolstoy's work, What is Art[74] presented a form of empathy theory. The purpose of art was to transmit feelings. "To evoke in oneself a feeling one has experienced, and having evoked it in oneself, then, by means of movements, lines, colors, sounds or forms expressed in words, so to transmit that feeling that others experience the same feeling - this is the activity of art."[75] Both Russian symbolists and formalists drew on his work. Shklovsky, a formalist, was particularly fascinated by Tolstoy's phenomenological insights:

> I was dusting my room and going around the room, I went up to the sofa and could not remember whether I had dusted or not. Since these movements are habitual and unconscious, I was unable to remember and I felt that I would not be able to remember. Therefore, had I dusted and forgotten it, that is acted unconsciously then it was as though it had never happened. If someone had witnessed it consciously, it would have been reconstructed. If, however, nobody saw it, or if someone saw it but unconsciously, if the entire life of many people is lived unconsciously, then that life in effect did not exist.[76]

The question should be raised as to which aesthetic ideologies proved to be the progressive movements in Russia; those of the Formalists, Constructivists, Realists or Applied Artists. The avant-garde Formalists felt, as did Lenin, that they possessed the new progressive values.[77] Applied Constructivists felt that art wedded with science was the necessary force; while the Realists called for an agit-prop art.

Russian Formalism began with the Symbolist philologists, Potebnya and Veselovsky. Language became the primary object of literal studies.[78] The Formalist critics of OPOYAZ (Study for the Study of Poetic Language) and the Moscow Linguistic Circle centered around Jakobson, introduced a structuralism which was to study the deep structure of literature - its "literariness." There was no "higher reality" that symbolists, like Myskovksy and Khlebnikov, who had been influenced by Italian Futurists, could appeal to. Form was the deep structure; content its surface. Form was Hegel's noumenal world. It was, in many ways, equivalent to Mach's view of consciousness as a composition of facts and elements. A closed system, structural-functionalism was introduced, wherein every element inside a work of art was, according to exact measure and appropriateness, a formal part of the whole. Russian symbolists maintained that form was essentially sound (its vitality) and content (its ideas).

The most devastating critique of Formalism was presented by Vygotsky and Luria's psychology. It is to Vygotsky's and Luria's credit to have shown that consciousness had a socio-historical nature. Vygotsky's critique of Piaget showed that consciousness was mediated by family, relatives, peer groups, as well as schools and institutions. Type of labor and its status also affected perception. Vygotsky's[79] work on the development of speech and thinking showed, in contradistinction to Piaget's early work, that a child's language originated in the social sphere as a type of communication, termed speech for others, which gradually developed into its intermediate forms, "egocentric speech." Whereas Piaget developed his theory to take account of how the child adapted his individualism to social situations, Vygotsky's experiments showed the transition to be from a more social collective activity to a more individualized one - the complete reversal of Piaget's theory.[80]

Luria's work was to show that Gestalt principles were not inherent immutable forms.[81] Luria dismissed the Neo-Kantian hypothesis of Cassirer whose analysis relied on objectivized symbolic forms without the examination of the interior categories of thought. In other words, Cassirer had no good explanation for the origin of symbolic forms. Luria's examination of illiterate village folk showed that they operated with a different concept of space, time and logic. He concluded that different social schedules led to different perceptions of color, of solving problems, memory - in short, the higher psychological processes were different.[82]

Technical Schools or Vkutemas were Russia's response to the need for industrialization. It was in these schools that the avant-garde developed their theories; however, their position represented only one aesthetic ideology.

The Petrograd Artists' Union, formed in May 1917, was free from State Intervention. The Soviet Commissar for Education, A. V. Luhacharsky gave it a free rein. IZO, the visual arts department of Narkompros (People's Commissariat of Education) was under the leadership of Mayakovsky, Brik, Malevich and Shklovsky; all embraced Futurist values. Art was to go to the factories and artists were to become productive. In 1920, IZO functions were taken overy by INHUK (Institute of Artistic Culture); the result was the dividing of loyalties between fine and applied arts.

The "pure" artists presented the Suprematist and Constructivist aesthetics. Suprematism represented a retreat to the formalist position while Gabo's constructivism was a heuristic structural-functionalism. Malevich loved the machine - the airplane was placed high on his list. The "metallic culture" was the new humanized nature.[83] Malevich's suprematism introduced a formalist psychology closer to Pavlov than to Vygotsky. In his view, the artist adapted to a particular environment. If, for example, an artist was transported from his city environment, where he had come in contact with "machines, motors, power lines," and placed in the country where he would confront "cows, farmers and geese," he would revert to a primitive state of imitating nature.

Quantity into quality in Malevich's aesthetics translates into a claim that an ideal quality could be found which could be grasped by all. For Malevich this was symbolized by the square. This perfect intellectual relationship could be achieved by eliminating all materiality. "To the Suprematist the visual phenomena of the objective world are, in themselves, meaningless; the significant thing is feeling...quite apart from the environment which brought it forth."[84] Feeling was pure essence, "a blissful sense of liberating non objectivity drew me forth into the 'desert', where nothing is real except feeling..."[85] This was "useless" art - the expression of pure feeling; it sought no ideas, no practical values, and no "promised land." Yet he claimed that once the utility for realism vanished, absolute value could be recognized. Like Husserl's transcendental ego, for Malevich, one could "only feel the essence of absolute."

The Constructivism of Gabo went beyond Malevich. He was the "Klee" of sculpture, offering an open-system aesthetic. In the art of sculpture every material had its own aesthetic properties. The emotions aroused by materials were caused by their intrinsic properties and were as universal as any other psychological reaction determined by nature. Gabo's introduction of the environment was based on the idea that sculpture was to show "mass as space." Space was to be phenomenologically experienced. Whereas Malevich left emotion as a transcendental idea, Gabo grappled with the attempt to make space a visible physiognomic emotion which would take its place along with mass, weight, and solid volume. Space perceptions of mass were presented in heuristic terms. "The shapes we are creating are not abstract, they are absolute [wherein absolute is equal to the whole]. They are released from any already existent thing in nature and their content lies in themselves. We do not know which Bible imposes on the art of sculpture only a certain number of permissible forms. Form is not an edict from heaven, form is a product of mankind, a means of expression. They choose them deliberately and change them deliberately, depending on how far one form or another responds to their emotional impulses."[86] Each shape, as a potential of its whole (Absolute) had a unique quality. Its emotional impact was immediate, irresistible and universal. Each "Absolute," or "total" shape could not be comprehended through reason but required emotional experience. Gabo's "constructive mind" was to revive sculpture and have effects in society through architectural engineering. His experiments with time-space sculpture attempted to release the works from the pull of gravity. The dirigible became the constructive sculpture *par excellence*.

In 1921, Lenin's New Economic Policy attempted to introduce a capitalist market through limited private enterprize, the result of which was decreased support for "purist" art movements. The magazine

Lef, first launched by avant-garde movements, soon was overtaken by the utilitarian position represented by El Lissitzky, Tatlin and Rodchenko who wished greater cooperation between art and science.

Despite the promise of such an integration, their knowledge of elementary geometry did not get them past the design stage. Tatlin's Monument to the Third International was never built and neither were many other constructions. Success came largely in the manufacturing of clothes, pots, wood and metal fabrications. New workers' clubs, books, posters and advertizing for new department stores filled their agenda.

Against Lenin's avant-garde party position and "pure" artistic research, the Proletkult (Association of Proletarian Cultural Organizations) under Bogdan promoted the notion that the artist, like the engineer, was a member of a trained élite, who for the moment, was to exercise his skills, in their interest. This projected intention was to lead essentially to the acquisition of the same skills by the proletariat; then the distinction between artist and public would disappear. Proletkult took art right to the people, but in the form of a behaviorism, which reduced man to a stimulus-response machine.[87] In Russia the machine aesthetic prevailed. In 1932, due to Zhdanov's influence, the central committee instituted a single union of Soviet Writers which adopted the Socialist Realism principle - the portrayal of life by marionette-cardboard figures.[88]

Parenthetically, we should mention the aesthetic theory of Eisenstein[89] whose montage technique parallels that of Brecht and Surrealist techniques. In his earliest film, Strike, Eisenstein was influenced by Pavlov but from Potemkin on he became more dialectical. Significantly, his film presented the notion of a "fragment" which was equivalent to Benjamin's idea of "dialectic at a standstill." The audience was to complete the film by offering their own endings. All questions and contradictions remained unanswered and unresolved. The spectator was shocked into thinking and eventually into action to resolve the contradictions of everyday life. Montage was "collision and conflict" from which a new concept would emerge.

We may conclude that in the context of Russia, the dominant aesthetic theory became socialist realism - an axiomatic mechanistic application of art to reality. The progressive artists left the country for central Europe, where many ended up teaching at the Bauhaus.

Germany and the Bauhaus

The aesthetic theories developed at the Bauhaus took two distinctive phases. The dividing date was World War I. Pre-war theory was a strict closed system formalism. Gropius introduced a standardization which restricted architecture and goods to basic forms and colors which were typical and universally intelligible. Simplicity in complexity, economy in the use of space, time, materials and money were part and parcel of this machine aesthetic. Architecture, under Hannes Meyer, became a scientific technical lab where a communal consciousness prevailed. For Meyer a building was just an organization. Every house was to be the same; to have decided otherwise would have been "wasteful" and "a misplaced emphasis on individuality."[90]

This rigid formalist position which had characterized Gropius' early pre-war years at the Werkbund changed in the post-war period. It was at this time that he introduced a more open structural-functionalism by introducing the idea of "manufacturing genius." He began insisting that "the invention of new, expressive forms requires a strong artistic...personality. Only the most brilliant ideas are good enough for multiplication by industry and worthy of benefitting not just the individual but the public as a whole."[91] This brand of structuralism had had a hidden interest; industrial architecture became one huge advertising symbol which displayed the "progress" and "propriety" of its clients - the big business firms. "Only in the hands of a gifted architect will they coalesce to form an entity with artistic force," and "the more unrestrictedly the originality of the formal language can unfold, the more the building will possess publicity for its firm and meet the advertising aims of its organizer."[92] Like Klee, he proposed the organic shaping of things in accordance with their own current laws. All romantic embellishments were avoided.

Through his work with the Arbeitsrat für Kunst (Working Council for Art) and his position as the director of Bauhaus in the Weimar post-war period, Gropius was able to introduce his standardization of "the most brilliant ideas" after he had successfully rid the Bauhaus of all metaphysical influences like those presented by Johannes Itten, who had directed the course of the Bauhaus until 1922.

Johannes Itten's design courses (1921) included the making of exact, detailed drawings from the human figure and the use of various materials and textures in order to heighten perception, gain precision in rendering ideas and develop greater understanding of the properties of different materials. As the first stage, these exercises were then contrasted with a second stage wherein the students examined their inner emotions rendering subjects like "war" or storm" through the use of multi-media. This stressed spontaneity and improvisation. The last phase was the introduction of analytic and constructive techniques such as structural and rhythmical analysis of old masters, color analysis and elementary two-dimensional compositions based on simple linear relationships, contrasts of light-dark and large-small. Variations on rhythm and movement were also introduced. At the end of the six month semester this two-dimensional programme changed to three-dimensional design problems wherein theory and practice were to be combined in the industrial workshop. Itten's philosophy was to bring out the "inherent" creativity in the artist paralleling the new Montessori schools, based on Rousseau's principle that education was to bring out and develop inherent gifts a child possessed through a process of free and playful activity and self-learning.[93]

The stress Itten gave to free-play exercises which were to bypass the intellect and reach this natural, unlearned creative center had had their roots in Expressionism especially the stress on "primitivism" and empathy aesthetics. It meant bringing out of a student's natural talent through an informal master-pupil relationship. Itten found further justification for this empathy aesthetic in Oriental doctrines. He became influenced by Taoist beliefs and other forms of mysticism. Quantity into quality became the attainment of universal awareness about self. He began to introduce breathing and bodily movement and preliminary rhythmical stroking in his classes. The Chinese painting treatise, where the subject-object dichotomy was eliminated through the tranquil and harmonious preparation of mind and body, was adopted to allow the hand to obey the impulses of the mind. In his preliminary exercises, Itten introduced a strong psychoanalytic dimension to his teachings. He envisioned art education as a process of "release" - the removing of intellectual and emotional impediments which prevented students from calling upon their full inborn creative powers. He would deliberately perform emotional outbursts and do erratic displays to "shock" his pupils into experiencing their emotions. Despite this expressive side of Itten, his design classes which followed these exercises were locked into a closed system formalism. He had been influenced by Charles Blanc's Grammar of the Decorative Arts wherein all motifs were reduced to five "principles" of repetition, alteration, symmetry, progression and confusion. These yielded secondary principles of consonance, contrast, radiation, gradation and complication. Itten had had his training at the Ecole des Beaux Arts and so with these design courses he stressed contrast and an elementary approach using oppositions such as light-dark, large-small, and soft-hard. The combination of formalism and the belief in free-expression allowed the accommodation of many divergent results. Itten was the German counterpart of Russia's Lunacharsky. His inability to work out a consistent theoretical position was to be criticized by Gropius who like Klee, wished to introduce a new open-ended structuralism which accounted for the environmental factor by stating that the form of structure was universally symbolic. Its limitations were, as the Frankfurt critical theorists argued, its blindness to the fact that descriptive categories were mediated.

The Bauhaus worked out a consistent design theory through Gropius' organizing powers and the Russian avant-garde members who had left Russia after the victory of the Proletkult. Against Itten's excessive subjectivism and his disregard for a practical commitment to the handicraft programme, Gropius introduced a new pragmatism. Crafts changed from the "folk inspired" forms (i.e., squat, pot-bellied shapes, nude and primitive forms) to a cubistic rationalist style.

With the departure of Itten, Gropius found two artists to teach basic design - Laszlo Moholy-Nagy and Josef Albers. Moholy-Nagy's aesthetic offered a concise statement of this greater interest in pure geometry and formal precision. Moholy-Nagy's aesthetic changed, however, when he immigrated to the United States, as did the ideas of most European intellectuals. There he was to comply with a dominant systems aesthetic.

Josef Albers brought to the study of materials an approach based upon systematic classificaiton and arrangement by qualities and a rigorous methodology in which the economy of procedure and ingenuity exploited the structural properties of a given material.[94] From this Albers developed a formal language of materials. This position, the Frankfurt School also critiqued. The Bauhaus was much like the members of the Vienna Circle who had begun to present a consistent scientific language, thus allowing capitalist factions to "talk" to one another in universal terms, i.e., De Stijl and Bauhaus.

Sibyl Moholy-Nagy had said that her husband had developed a codified system whereby he could have a painting produced by a sign painter by means of telephoned instruction.[95] To have presented a monistic "unified design concept" suited for the centralization of production was a repressive state of affairs because its mediators limited the type of data admissable. The more "universal" Bauhaus' theory became, the fewer alternatives it allowed in as "facts." It was a shared technical language with its own specially designed blinkers.

Holland

The purest of the abstract movements was the Dutch group, De Stijl (The Style) founded in Amsterdam in 1917 by Piet Mondrian (1872-1944) and Theo Van Doesburg (1883-1931) and architect J. J. P. Oud. Unquestionably, De Stijl's ethical programmes were noble, at least in intent. It was pointed out earlier that the period between the wars was characterized by strong movements of the Left and labor unions demanding better working conditions. Like the other technical schools discussed, Di Stijl was committed to improving living conditions which aimed at reducing costs. This surely was a positive goal. The negative, unintentional praxis resulted in standardization and expansion of markets within its borders which released capitalism from its stranglehold. This was the compromise; technology would resolve class conflict by raising living standards. Piet Mondrian accepted this ethical position and the contradictions. His Neoplasticism was both a philosophy and a religion. The quantity into quality solution, however was ambiguous. Mondrian wavered from an

Aristotelian aesthetic which placed universals within nature, appearing under a veil which needed to be uncovered, to a Platonism which envisioned a priori universals independent of nature.[96]

De Stijl was influenced by the mathematical theories of Schoenmaeker who had published in Bussum (1915-1916), The New Image of the World, The Principles of Plastic Mathematics wherein he presented his major tenets.

> The two fundamental complete contraries which shape our earth are the horizontal line of power, that is, the course of the earth around the sun and the vertical profoundly spacial movement of rays that originates in the centre of the sun.
>
> ...the primary colors are yellow, blue and red. They are the only colors existing. ...yellow is the movement of the ray... Blue is the contrasting color to yellow...as a color, blue is the firmament, it is line, horizontality. Red is the mating of yellow and blue...yellow radiates, blue 'recedes', and red floats.[97]

In Mondrian's work in the United States, it was this scheme which still interested him. The attempt to make his canvas in the shape of a diagonal was to extend the powers of the horizontal and vertical lines in new relationships.[98]

France: Cubism, Purism, Orphism

Space-time analysis had begun with the Cubists.[99] The same year that Einstein had postulated the equivalency of mass and energy and had proposed in his special Theory of Relativity the amalgamation of space and time into a four-dimensional space-time continuum, Picasso began the series of drawings and sketches which led him to the 1907 form-breaking work Les Demoiselles d'Avignon, usually taken as the birth of Cubism. With dissolution of matter through the discovery of radioactivity,[100] it appeared that atoms were divisible; they could be "broken down." Matter became more transparent and motion was no longer a frozen moment nor might a body be seen from only one perspective.[101]

Cubist formalistic solutions should be seen in three phases: the analytic phase (pre-war period); the synthetic phase (post-war period); and what may be called a sui generis moment wherein the Cubists' symbolism became esoteric. In the analytic phase (1907-1914) Picasso and Braque attempted to dissect the object so that its different forms could be simultaneously presented. The works were a synthesis of a 360° walk about an object. This was Cézanne's structuralism pushed to the limit. With Picasso there was no struggle about whether art was "figurative" or "non-figurative." For him there was no such thing as abstract art; one had to start with reality with some "mass."

Next came a synthetic phase when the assemblage technique was used to overlap shapes to suggest a subject.[102] The art of synthesis or deduction, the move from the general to particular, was best exemplified by the aesthetic formalism of Juan Gris.[103] Each object of his still-life was bisected along its vertical and horizontal axis and then each resulting segment was examined from a different angle of vision. The re-assembled object was to present a more analytical and literal view of reality.

Cubism declined in the mid-twenties. Its last phases must be understood in the context of French society, i.e., the decline of the French avant-garde. The Exposition des Arts Décoratifs introduced Art Deco which successfully commercialized Cubist and Fauvist movements.[104] The top hat and cane became the new "habit noir." Paris became the seat of fashion, catering to the new wealthy strata who owned large factories, and who became the new art patrons. Picasso became disillusioned with the beau monde. His work became increasingly introspective,thus reaching non-communicable personalized language.[105]

Purism,[106] launched by Ozenfant and Jeanneret (Le Corbusier), extended the Cubist programme. Clarity and objectivity became their watchwords. Equilibrium became the much used concept. Everyday life (the environment) was introduced through their stress on functional objects. Architecture, engineering, utensils, communication problems, bridges became ways of integrating art and life. Art was based on the unchanging, constant, physiological structure of the eye and body as it responded to forms of line and color. Like all formalism, a grammar and syntax was elaborated as a foundation. Purists were true logical-positivists. Logic of design in their view did not change from culture to culture because it was based on this invariable optical factor. Orphism[107] launched by Robert Delaunay changed mass into color. In his writings he argued that nature's rhythm could be worked out by a language of color.

The Critical Thread: The Aesthetic Theories of Dada, Surrealism and Scuola Metafisica

The "proto Surrealist" group called by the nonsense term Dada did not accept the war ideology.[108] They were its dissenters. Splinter groups from Expressionist movements met in Zurich to launch their protest in 1916. Club Voltaire became their quarters, a hotbed of activity for such members as Jean Arp and Tristan Tzara. From there it spread internationally: Duchamp and Picabia in the United States, Max Ernst in Cologne, Schwitters and later Lissitzky (who had changed loyalties) in Hanover, and Grosz in Berlin. The groups were characterized by hot debates and communist expressions. In 1921, Dada came to an end when many of its members joined the much more coherent Surrealist movement.

Dada's central theme was the Great Refusal for art to participate in society. It rejected the whole capitalist system. Its strongly nihilistic side, with its emphasis on anarchism , should not be lightly dismissed, for Dada tried to keep the critique of society alive. Freedom and chance events were their primary values. They felt that this element had been removed by the rationalization of time and space studies. "Life seemed absurd," wrote Tzara. "The beautiful and the true in art did not exist."[109] It was the realization that art was a state of mind. Anti-art found its highest expression in Marcel Duchamp whose "ready-mades" as common everyday objects of art signalled the "end of art," as it was once defined.

The Surrealists importance lay in their attempt to introduce an ethical element into art.[110] Poetry (art) was not a cultivated form of escapism, but an instrument of discovery. It was open to all. This was the communism of Surrealism. The link of art to the real world was through the unconscious, the seat of all instincts and the libido. Art became a sublimation of the choices and demands which needed to be satisfied in the real world. The unconscious became the final court of appeal for the foundation of morals, thoughts, truth and way of life. This surreal center could be reached through dream accounts and automatic writings. This "short circuiting" revealed the psychic life. The artwork was to be a symbol, part of the language of the unconscious. Through a "shock" effect, the artwork put the world in suspension.[111]

The Surrealists were convinced that once the mind had a vision of what was possible, the will would struggle to achieve it. The artist was to lead the struggle to raise man's spiritual and social state up to the level of his dreams. The disparity between the "is" and "ought" could be overcome through alterable social conditions. This led to their political commitment to achieve a revolution. They joined the French communist party, but soon realized that they were too restricted by the Party line.

Dada and Surrealist tactics were to lead to the consciousness raising activities of America's New Left "Hippie" culture. Flowers were introduced in situations of state violence, agit-theatre was performed on the streets, dollar bills were given to New York Stock Exchange brokers, neo-Luddite activities like the repunching of computer cards to disrupt computer billing were attempted.

Parenthetically, we may add that the aesthetic theory of Giorgio di Chirico, representing the Scuola Metafisica, also rejected capitalist values. Quantity into quality for him, was "silence," the innermost moment of time when the world seemed mysterious. Man was painted as a mechanical construction seemingly overwhelmed by the mysterious world around him, yet a defiant pose was struck through the disposition of his body.

In contrast to the above views the art of the Third Reich was a retreat to classicism. The National Socialist rule waged a war on Modern art, calling it "degenerate" and unacceptable for the "new" Nationalist socialist art. Values of permanence and immutability and the aesthetic category of "greatness" were to serve a cultural identity which reached back to rewrite German history as a series of sagas. Dehistoricized culture was promoted through the pageant and the spectacle. Hitler reached back to nineteenth century classicism for his vision. The allegory and realism were the dominant styles. In film the work of Leni Riefenstahl remains a classic of staged pageantry of this period.[112]

Aesthetic Consciousness During Industrialization Based on Electricity

The Loss of the Artisan Aesthetic

It is not surprising that Walter Smith started the first Massachusetts State Normal Art School in Boston (1871). The Boston businessmen, operating within a Jefferson and Jacksonian market economy wished to compete against their New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore counterparts. The introduction of art education based on an utilitarian philosophy would give them both an industrial and cultural edge.[113] Challenging this form of art education were skilled artisans who had immigrated during the American expansion. These craftsmen, mostly from Northern European countries had experienced class conflict. The Irish had had the "Molly Maguires" for example, and the Chartist movement had achieved a trade union consciousness. Many had been influenced by Morris and the Arts and Crafts Movement in England. In the 1890's such magazines as Applied Arts Book and Craftsman were influential in promoting in promoting a socialist aesthetic.

When America began to industrialize after its Civil War, it did so by importing the most advanced university education in the world, the German scientific education which had given that country the capitalist lead.[114] Government purchased or conquered land and territories from which raw materials could be extracted. It publicly funded the railway (1850-1900) on the premise that they were more efficient than canals. When the automobile was invented the government publicly funded the highways and transportation industry. At the same time it was beginning to become a major purchaser of capitalist goods.

A new ruling élite arose who could mobilize capital and coordinate it with production and distribution. The new robber barons, Carnegie, Rockefeller, Mellon and Morgan began to squeeze out the artisan and the small manufacturer, who could not compete with this new form of organizational knowledge. Nor could socialistic tendencies among artisans, teachers and skilled immigrants be tolerated if monopoly capitalism was to become viable. Industry needed the skill and knowledge of these artisans but their cooperation was not possible unless the artisan was to give up his autonomy. From 1890 the concerted effort to undermine their status began.

The eventual capitulation occurred, firstly, because research and design had been able to break down and fragmentize the skill of a particular craft and automate the process. Secondly, the availability of a cheap and subservient supply of workers was made available by East European immigrants who had no history of labor strife. They worked hard to make the "American Dream" a reality. Thirdly, speedup of production and lengthening of the working day succeeded in making goods available to all classes. Gradually, a hierarchy of skilled and unskilled labor arose. The skilled artisans became the shop stewards. It was they who formed the unions, created seniority lists, and assured themselves of "credibility," attending formal schools which the companies had begun.[115] The changing social landscape was ridiculed and laughed at through the films of Chaplin, Marx Brothers, Keaton and Fields.

Jeremiah Kennedy formed the first film monopoly on the East Coast, and The Motion Pictures Patent Company prevented further competition. Consequently, it took the "Independent" film makers, Cecil B. DeMille, Samuel Goldwyn in what was to become Hollywood, to compete against the monopoly. Here the more critical strain of films developed, Chaplin's Modern Times being one of them.[116]

The ideology of consumerism took shape during the post World War I period.[117] The trade unions formed by skilled workers gradually lost their socialist thrust. Trade journals and speeches and books promoted the American Dream. Democratic "participation" was replaced through over-choice of goods to release the repressed ego drive. "Boys, I've got an idea," said Stromberg. "Let's fill the screen with tits."[118] A uniform national "taste" was created through advertising messages. Production and consumption were kept separate; workplace scenes were not used in advertising. Home economics courses provided a bridge to families wherein the entire kitchen changed due to the introduction of various pre-mixed goods and every conceivable electric implement. Through advertising, male and female relationships became manipulated; women became treated as sex-objects, opening up the cosmetic and fashion trade.

Commercial radio grew rapidly. By 1926, the first national radio network, the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) was formed, followed a year later by the CBS. From 1920-1929 the number of licensed, commercial radio stations increased from one to six hundred and six. The new Ford Motor Company made one Model T every ten seconds. Its availability reached all classes. The car and its system began to change the landscape (drive-ins, motels, gas stations). The automobile industry was the leading consumer in steel, rubber, glass, lead and petro-chemical products. Republican Presidents Coolidge and Hoover assured the public of America's greatness.[119]

Both big industry and Hollywood needed a fresh supply of talent. The artisan extended his domination over the unskilled worker by stressing apprenticeship and formal schooling which granted credentials. Discriminations by skill, race and nationality were preserved. In Hollywood the situation was more repressive. On-the-job training due to high costs of production, curtailed the spreading of film schools. Stars were something "special." Scarcity was a necessary ideology to maintain the constant stream of potential writers, directors, composers, designers, who knocked at the industry's gates. European directors and stars were co-opted for large contracts and benefits - the same ideology which still exists today.

A new kind of executive was needed both for industry and Hollywood. In industry these middle management positions were recruited from the supervisory staff of production crews or from the successful small entrepreneurs who had not previously been connected with the corporation. This "professional" group formed the engineers and business administrative élite. They advised the top executive ranks of production, research and finance, at the local level. As rulers of the skilled and semi-skilled they themselves answered to corporate policies which strictly defined their jobs. This middle management group was trained in smaller universities which served industry. The Ivy League was limited to private and large state-run universities.[120]

An analysis of the structure of the American economy during 1919-1929 shows that there was every sign of over-production.[121] While the productivity of workers and farmers increased during 1920-1929, workers' wages and prices of farm products did not increase significantly. With overproduction, the worker and farmer were not allowed to share in the profits. Consumer debt increased. The top five percent of the population received twenty-six percent of the national income in 1926. Chartered national banks kept the competition out. American foreign trade had a favorable balance, exporting more than importing. The U.S. dollar was the strongest in world trade. The United States financed her export trade through loans. With the 1929 crash, American investments abroad declined resulting in a shortage of U.S. dollars. The farmer was hit hard. Depression became a reality.[122]

The corporate structure "opened its hospitable arms to an exceptional number of promoters, grafters, swindlers, imposters and frauds."[123] As Horkheimer was to elucidate, this early racketeering was a pale reflection of what was to become the archetype of domination, protection.[124] Only the new system of organized crime, which combined surviving competitors, could wage war against an increased system of communication and progressive centralization by the police. The racket had to affiliate itself with large political organizations to have its way.

Art and the New Deal

The New Deal marked the time when the employer and labor union began to formalize and regulate labor relations. The Depression did much to quell the bite of the more radical union IWW (Industrial Workers of the World) who hated any form of collective bargaining. Between 1933-1937 the bulk of workers were organized by the CIO and AFL.

2

Economic expansion of modern capitalism required the close integration of the state and corporations. Synchronization of activities by state and private corporations guaranteed recovery and stable growth. The prediction of price became possible and unions became essential for this process. Workers needed to be regulated, otherwise the entire enterprize of state planning would have been impossible and disruptive. The New Deal meant that Congress delegated to the executive branch of government the powers to restore banks, stimulate investment, regulate wages and increase prices.

The New Deal was an extension of the long-term trend towards private sector reliance on government support and regulations. It carried the process of integration a step further. The National Industrial Recovery Act, Agricultural Adjustment Act, Reconstruction Finance Corporation were attempts to regulate prices, the size and direction of capital and volume of production.[125] This was supplemented by expanding government activity in capital-generating and employment-producing activities such as road building, housing, electric power construction which benefitted industries producing steel, cement, building materials, machinery.

The WPA/FAP Federal Art Project (1935) presented a unique moment in American art in its peak years 1936-1939. It was America's last "gasp" to live up to its constitutional ideals, which were fast disappearing. Since the 1776 Revolution, an American artistic identity had never been truly established.[126] The frontier type of expansion did not permit a stable style. The 1911 Armoury Show had introduced European movements, but high culture was confined to The

Museum of Modern Art, the Guggenheim and the Mellon Collection. Bell and Fry presented the dominant aesthetic ideology.[127] Bell's "significant form" and Fry's formalism represented a retreat to nineteenth century empiricist psychology, benefitting management psychology at this time. For Bell, art was strictly a sacred cow completely divorced from society. Fry, on the other hand, presented a Pavlovian model of aesthetic experience. The imagination was a stimulus response "instinct" and our response to the artwork produced an "emotion." Influenced by cinematography, Fry argued that film was a mirror and that the audience were its passive observers. It was separated "from actual life by the absence of responsive action."[128]

New Deal artists strove to recover the active self which the American Dream had promised. They searched the past to recover the promised values of its constitution. Religious and political leaders were painted, the National Archives were founded and the Writers' Project preserved and catalogued historical buildings and records. Inspired by the Mexican muralists (Orozco, Siquerios, Rivera), a historical event was carefully researched and presented in a visually legible way. This social realism produced a nostalgic art which suggested a peaceful uncluttered past.[129]

The magnitude of disillusion with the quality of American life is evident by the "commotion" of aesthetic positions from social realism, the official party line theory, to the likes of Stuart Davis' abstractions, all claiming that they were offering a truly utilitarian aesthetic. This unique situation resulted in the conscientization of the artist.[130] When the stock market crashed the art market collapsed. Unemployed artists were driven by the desperate economic situation to joining organizations which would keep their skills alive. In New York City, where roughly one third of the nation's artists were concentrated, Washington Square outdoor art sales were held to help out needy artists. Many participated in hunger marches and joined John Reed clubs. With the New Deal legislation they lobbied and obtained governmental assistance. The result was the PWAP (Public Works of Art Project) which ended in June 1934. Through constant pressure the WPA/FAP (Washington Office of Works Progress Administration's Federal Art Project) was established in 1935. The Artists' Union established itself on a national basis as the spokesman for American artists. The period from 1934-1939 saw the Artists' Union become more politicized, taking part in sit-down strikes in Project offices. This activism was at its height when the Communist Party Popular Front fought Fascism, while the CIO, in its most militant period (1935-1939) fought United States Steel and General Motors. Artists also participated in May Day parades which commemorated the organization of trade unionism.

Artists working with a socialist realist aesthetic adopted the Stalin line. Much of their work was a literal representation of a carefully researched historical event. The more critical and satirical "Trotskyist" side of American popular life was presented by an expressionist aesthetic.[131] Goodelman presented homeless men huddled together; Kainen presented the rural scene as one of drought, dust and despair, echoing Steinbeck's Grapes of Wrath; Bloch attempted to show racist tension and bleak environments. Jack Levine depicted police corruption and the world of gangsters; Ben Shahn sought out injustices done to the worker; Gropper and Hirsh had similar visions. The critical thread was also maintained by the surrealists Quirt, Guy and Louis Guglielmi. Gulielmi presented scenes from everyday life in the poorer sections of New York. A surrealist theory was attempted by juxtaposing the authenticity of such customs as street weddings against the backdrop of the rich. Quirt's mural work in psychiatric wings in Bellevue Hospital was an attempt to present art as a language of emotions; a Freudian approach which would help the patient to release his own fantasies.

The Constructivist-formalist approach was presented by Gorky and Davis who were to play major roles after World War II. Gorky, a Russian, worked out a Cubist style. Davis, in his essay "Abstract Painting Today,"[132] recognized that the form of knowledge which monopoly capitalism had harnessed through such scientists as Kettering (at G.M.) was the most advanced technology available in the world. His real target for criticism was not however, the large firm but the cultural monopolies, like The Metropolitan Museum in New York ,who were spending capital investments in old masters and not on their own artists.

Modern art, he argued, was also the most advanced form of knowledge.

> ...it is affirmation of the modern view that the world is real, that it is in constant motion, that it can be manipulated in the interests of man by knowledge of the real character of the objective relations, and that through such control of the environment man can develop his standard of life to higher and higher levels.[133]

In Davis' view monopoly companies were the true innovators. He was quite satisfied that the government protected "our banks, industries, agriculture, sciences and educational system..."[134] As long as government supported the artist, things progressed well.

After the war his views began to change. For ten years (1940-1950) he taught at the New School for Social Research in New York which gives us a clue as to why he changed his mind, for the influence of The Frankfurt School would have been felt. In 1943, he argued against the realist aesthetics of Biddle and denounced the corporations for having had accepted the illustrative style of Norman Rockwell.

> Business approves of art, yes, but an art of the status quo to soothe the public mind and keep it on the beam. An art of the glorified familiar and spiritual nostalgia in reverse.[135]

Adorno and Horkheimer and other immigrant intellectuals supported this assessment. Furthermore, from 1939-1943 a new disillusionment had set in. A conservative coalition of Democrats and Republicans in Congress attacked the cultural programs. They became the scapegoats for the strong reaction to New Deal welfare policies. With this curtailment, artists were either drafted or became production line workers.

Dominant Aesthetic Ideology: Open System Structuralism

The industrialization of America required a new form of organization. The pragmatism of Pierce, James and Dewey provided the rationale. These three theorists all had the notion of totality, transformation and self regulation. Pierce's totality (whole or system) consisted in all the possible practical consequences of a given action. The new criterion of truth was practical application, hence, meaningful and un-meaningful statements could be separated. William James, whose influence became dominant in early twentieth century America , presented a theory of truth based on biological relativism. Man's cognitive behavior was a specific type of reaction to his environment whose truth consisted in it being biologically useful. This presented a contextualism wherein the organism transformed itself, constantly structuring and restructuring itself, due to man's cognitive bond with his environment.[136]

Dewey's Art as Experience [137] presented an organicist aesthetic which argued that an experience was a consummatory experience in which form and content blended in a feeling of completeness, satisfaction and fulfillment. The stress on experience and adaptation meant that there was an irreducible quality of life, but this essence was defined in scarcity terms, i.e., the best artworks of man. Any given artistic technique, convention or any set of representation and display was valued, preserved and extended in relation to its adaptive efficacy. Dewey's philosophy was closed because there were no criteria (apart from an adaptive efficiency) to determine when the child had reached a significantly higher level of synthetics. Translated into a programme, experiences provided by the teacher for the child's "well-being" became the swallowing of a pill (quality) which was to stabilize his health as he naturally grew. Progress was in terms of adopting a new set of coordinates to see whether they would produce the desired result; not whether they should provide for a higher integration. Pragmatist ethics which questioned what was good, what was widsom and the art of living became "scientific" questions into which people tended to maximize their intentions.[138] This could be given an exact statistical measurement of need. The majority was always right.

Dewey's aesthetics presented an ideology for middle class consumerism. Progressive art education did not give children the sort of education which would allow them to institute their own change. Rather an economics of scarcity was preserved.[139]

The 1940's decade produced the Abstract Expressionists.[140] It was they who kept a critical stance towards society alive. It was not until the mid 1950's that these first generation abstract artists became "tamed" by a new dealer-critic institution. Against Dewey's instrumentalism which saw ethics in terms of the "here and now" and a progressive democracy built on fact where society grows harmoniously for the good of all, the Abstract Expressionists tried to introduce an existentialism much like that of Sartre. Values were created by the free acts of a human agent who had to act in the world, to give significance and order to an otherwise meaningless existence. Abstract Expressionists realized that form and spontaneous procedure were not irreconcilable. The attempt was to develop an aesthetic which combined the achievement of surrealism - that is, spontaneous access to the unconscious and to give it an abstract referent. The result was the adoption of Jungian psychology. Jung[141] had argued that "archaic remnants," or "archetypes" or "primordial images" existed in the human mind which were innate, inherited from man's evolutionary past. For Jung, archetypes represented the deep structure of mind. Works of art became symbolic, beyond the grasp of Reason.

Abstract Expression introduced the notion of negentropy. DeKooning and Pollock attempted to involve not only their subconscious but also their neurological responses to the chance events which they themselves created and utilized. Through this method the antinomies of ground/figure, painting/canvas, coloring/drawing, illusion/flatness, disappeared. By increasing the size of their works they encouraged entry "into" the work. Rothko and Newman's works extended the all-overness to the edges of the canvas.[142] Peripheral vision, which does not recognize a sharp boundary, was affected. Many of these artists, notably Tobey[143] appealed to Whitehead's view of reality which may be summarized as follows: things and the whole conception of the world of physics was seen as a construction rather than an inference. The appearance of objects changed with the "point of view" of the observer. The perspective (appearance) of one observer was not that of another. Unperceived perspectives were also conceivable. The object itself was not the cause of these appearances but was the whole system of them. When the time element was considered, the object became an event spread out in time-space. If it was located at any place, it was the only place at which no perspective was possible. The object was everywhere but in the position the observer attributed to it. One had to go all around it to find "it." "It" thus became a "logical construction."[144]

The Existentialist side of these artists was evident in the presence of the criterion of "integrity" in their art. Art had to be "honest." Sartre's post-war work, Being and Nothingness, and his aesthetic writings on modern art,[145] presented a similar view to the American Abstract Expressionists. Art existed as Being, i.e., as an imaginary world. This contrasted to existence or material being which was the actual artwork. The beautiful, as an imaginary being existing "beyond" the canvas, could not be experienced as a perception but could be intuited as an emotion. A work had "being" but not existence; hence, when it was "grasped" one entered an illusionary world. Works of art were not signs but psychological attitudes. Consequently, Sartre prized the works of Hare and Giacometti.

The Abstract Expressionists' "authenticity" was soon to be lost, swallowed up by the new market. The Great Refusal to participate in mass culture was carried on by the very few. Ben Shahn in painting and Kenneth Burke in drama were the notable exceptions. Formalism was crucial for industry. The migration of European intellectuals to America furthered the development of a systems approach. Moholy-Nagy established the Institute of Design in Chicago while Gropius became Chairman of the Department of Architecture at Harvard. Joseph Albers held a position at Yale. At these prestigious universities the work continued. Moholy-Nagy in attempting to harness an energy source for his sculpture, found his way in a development which was later to be termed cybernetics and cybernetic art.[146] Significantly, in his last writings,[147] the year of his death, Moholy-Nagy saw through the ideology that had been forged. He went on to say that the myth that an artist had to "suffer" was a sly excuse for a society which did not care for its productive artists unless their work promised immediate technological and economic application with a calculable profit. The greatest kinetic art became the film, the perfect integration of art and science. It depended on electricity, precision, engineering, the chemical industry, marketing and distribution to an international audience and was to become an instrument of propaganda or liberation.

Aesthetic Consciousness in Post-Industrial Society Based on Atomic Energy

World War II provided the way out of the Depression. Purchases by the government in the "defense" sector meant that it became a major consumer of heavy industrial goods. A "permanent war economy" was maintained. Close cooperation between government and industry prevented or tried to prevent recessions (1957-1958). In 1968 the Government was purchasing one fifth of the total goods and services produced in the United States to stimulate economic activity which would have been consistent with the goals of profit maximization and political stability.[148]

Labor relations changed. Increased bureaucracy and fragmentation occurred as corporations expanded past their borders. The shop steward system was replaced. The foreman's decision-making power was replaced by the "committee man," a new middleman paid by the company to deal with grievances; now problems were solved further from the workplace environment. Collective bargaining provided a rigid way to curb worker demands. The modern labor agreement prevented outright walkouts. Long term contracts between trade unions and officials of corporations resulted in the control of labor costs so that stability could be maintained. Union bureaucracy recapitulated corporate bureaucracy. Union leaders became business executives accountable to government agencies and arbitration boards.[149]

The interpenetration between government and industry becomes particularly visible when high government officials and military generals take posts in the corporate management. The skill of administering huge organizations could only be found in these bureaucratic positions, not at some élite university. The convergence of state and civil society, wherein corporate heads end up in government service or vice versa, has produced several new strata in society. First, the ever-increasing number of professional and middle management positions to maintain this meritocracy[150] (R. & D. directors, engineers, department heads of large universities, scientists, pharmacists and doctors) became appendages to large corporate research and development departments involved in producing the new; while sales managers of service facilities, production superintendents were involved in the reproduction and distribution of the new. Top echelon managers represented corporate interests at the national level in political and civic life; middle management reproduced this at the state and local levels. This was repeated in every country where the multi-national had its branch companies. Local people were recruited as management and encouraged to become members of school boards, community leaders, to run for public office and engage in philanthropic activities.

The second largest stratum aside from professional and middle management was the new service sector , white and blue collar workers who were not engaged in the production of material goods. They manipulated symbols and persons rather than things. Gas station attendants, television repairmen, dry-cleaning workers and transit workers formed the blue collar class. White collar services included office and administrative positions as well as clerical and sales staff jobs. An ideological distinction existed between blue and white collar workers. White collar clerical workers were considered more important to society than workers engaged in manual labor.

The Making of the Modern Arts Museum

In the late 1940's and early 1950's, New York emerged as the center of the art world. This was primarily due to the war which had destroyed European art markets and also to the promotion of an avant-garde in America. The old artist-dealer framework which had existed since the Impressionists began to change. Two types of galleries, inventive and innovative, were instituted which were to help in shaping an American élite. The inventive gallery gave the artists their start.[151] Rather than monetary rewards, symbolic rewards were given. Creativity was fostered, and like the old system of laissez-faire, the dealer and artist were close working partners. Group shows were held and media coverage was given at the gallery's expense.

In 1950 two events happened which broke the previous harmony between dealer and artist. First, these abstract artists were given a sustained critical response. Greenberg's Art and Culture[152] and

Harold Rosenberg's The Tradition of the New[153] became official ideological statements. Artists began to protest and use the media. Secondly, more money became available for the arts. New tax regulations permitted the donor of an artwork to a public collection to deduct up to thirty percent of the assessed value from his taxable income during the year of donation even if the donor retained custody and private enjoyment of the work for the rest of his life.[154] The market boomed. The American painter became a "Blue Chip."[155]

In 1951, an exodus from these small "inventive" studios to "business innovative" galleries took place. Sam Koots, whose background included law and art, introduced the ideology of the "international style" denouncing regionalism. Having middle management marketing skills, he began to make percentage agreements with artists, the same arrangement which the unions were bargaining for. New techniques were introduced to hype the works. Critics or literary people began to write catalogues as introduction to shows. It took approximately another five years before the returns started coming in.

What began to characterize the market in the 1960's was the trend towards an "art of fashion." The generation following the Abstract Expressionists, had been bred by art colleges pursuing the "tradition of the new," and the ethics of "making it."[156] This ideology kept alive the illusion that the free enterprize market still functioned. Pop art and hard-edge joined architecture to become true international styles and galleries like the Marlborough, with branch offices in most major cities, began to market "America."[157]

From Mass Art to Pop Art: Counterrevolutionism

Popular art was the apotheosis of consumerism. It was the beginning of "art about art" as Steinberg, one of its promoters, said.[158] The "place" became Leo Castelli's gallery where Johns, Lichtenstein, Warhol, Rauschenberg and Rosenquist exhibited. A bridge between avant-garde anti-culture and the world of advertisements was built. This was particularly true in the music industry. In 1950 Decca, R.C.A., Columbia and Capital had seventy-five percent of all records on the Billboard's weekly top ten Hit Parade. From 1955-1968 these monopolies fell to only thirty percent of all chart records.[159] Affluent sub-cultures bit into the market. With the Beatles, the promoter, the concert tour, and the top forty, began. The rock market had built on the working class teenage audience in the 1950's and it discovered the middle class youth of the 1960's. Needs and concerns of the youth were discovered and exploited. As Firth maintains,[160] whatever counter-cultural tendencies rebellious youth may have had they were diverted by the commercial success of counter-cultural stars. There were few moments in rock history when the sound of "heavy metal" or the folk-art of Dylan, had any solid affect.

The importance of charts, the star system, and the "reserve army" of rock musicians had its parallel in the art world. Small galleries acted as gate keepers for larger ones where the "star-artists"were made. Analogously, the "music charts" of art were the new "novel" styles in painting. Greenwich became the new mecca for inspiration.

The aesthetics of interactionism which an ecological metaphor introduced, made pop artists accept the values of fashion. The new qualities were transience, gimmickry, glamor, wit, sexuality, youth, mass production, low cost and popularity. With the Happening art was "consumable" and "disposable;" however, like moments in the history of rock, Pop also had its social critics, like Lichtenstein and Warhol.

The movements that followed Pop furthered production for a museum rather than for a community. Minimalism has been compared to Wittgensteinian philosophy.[161] The "coolness" of Minimalism and Color Field Art appear as a "painting-game" of "Arnheimian good figures;" i.e., a logical perfect language. Art became a reflection of itself.

Anti-Art and Systems Aesthetic

The dominant aesthetic of the 1970's was the systems aesthetic qualified by infrastructures and interstructures. From approximately 1960 through to 1971 there has been total dematerialization in art.[162] Artists have turned away from objective production towards focusing on interaction and process of the artistic system. The result was a stress on communication between man and man, and man and environment. These inter and intra systems have been explored through the adoption of a linguistic structuralism and a cybernetic sculptural model. Marshal McLuhan's ecological determinacy[163] and the DATA (Directions in Art, Theory and Aesthetics)[164] representatives, notably Moles[165] and Bense[166] typify this direction.

Bense, for example, writes of the aesthetics of Production as being "concerned with bringing about 'orderly arrangements' which comprise the topological nature of 'form', and the statistical nature of 'distribution.'"[167]

The Aesthetics of the New Left in Post-Indsutrial Society

Marcuse's aesthetics must be seen as intimately tied to those of Adorno and the Frankfurt School. His aesthetic writings present a further critique of a post-industrial society which had made Adorno's hope for the "new," both fashionable and common. Whatever contradiction an autonomous work may have had, its "bite" has been lost. Although class contradictions still exist within the new strata of the technocracy, the culture industry has managed to effectively subdue the rebellions of youth.

In the post-industrial society the new stratification resulted in the attempt to out-do and out-perform the next individual. Surplus repression was institutionalized through the instruments of media intrusion, division of management and labor and the monogamic patriarchal family.[168]

Surplus repression was a quantitative variable for Marcuse. Although a certain amount of minimal repression was necessary to preserve civilization, a sociobiological presupposition, the presence of a surplus meant that society was irrational. If levels of surplus repression hindered the actualization of potential freedom, then man was living in a state of un-reason, un-freedom. Surplus repression was created through false needs which provided new markets for expanding capital.

This was the process which reproduced qualitative effects through quantitative repression. Marcuse envisioned the notion of utopia in order to break out of this domination. If a new social arrangement and new ideas based on the given potential of the empirical situation could be presented then people could become conscious of the liberating power of the new solution, and the present socio-historical mode would be negated.

From this foundation, Marcuse lays down his aesthetic theories. In "Affirmative Character of Culture,"[169] Marcuse claims that genuine art is sublimated Eros: that is, the life instinct which desires immediate gratification is the sine qua non of art. Art is the life instinct which holds the truth of the human condition. This truth, as in Adorno, may be "uncovered." Its inner truth is the apotheosis of man. Since civilization is built on the repression of Eros and the denial of its freedom, art becomes man's way of sustaining his liberated potential through the play of the imagination.

Like Adorno, Marcuse envisions genuine art as that which embodies "inner truth." It contradicts existing society and retains the potentiality for freedom. The dialectic is maintained through Marcuse's notions of "affirmative" and "negative" art. "Negative" art would be the equivalent of complete subjectivity while "affirmative" art would be lost in the "culture industry."

For the Epsilons of Huxley's Brave New World, Marcuse sees post-capitalism promoting a "happy consciousness" though its privatization of freedom, divorced from social institutions and social activity. A gratuitous link provides him with overchoice of goods and a vote every so many years. The integration of fine art into life through, let us say, Schoenberg's score as a background filter to T.V. ads, has taken away the conscious radical intent of the work. Marketing a "once radical" work changed its original mediation, as the 1968 France situation showed.[170] Art, as we saw, became tied to a system aesthetic. Marcuse realized that negation had now become affirmation. Bigger and bigger shocks (Verfremdungseffekt) are provided by rock stars who have become the new demigods. Kubrick's vision in Clockwork Orange is slowly becoming reality. The hero of romanticism and the anti-hero (flaneur) of l'art pour l'art have been surpassed by the demigod or star, a commodity product whose ideal the youth strive for, opening up even wider markets for rock bands, and record sales. Punk rockers are absorbed. The potentiality of protests of Dylan and the Sex Pistols end up as the new "hot" numbers. Dismayed, the stars either turn to religion (Dylan) or suicide (Sid Vicious).

Significantly, Marcuse's adoption of Freudian meta-theory reworked Lukács' notion of false-consciousness which saw art, which did not conform to a realist aesthetic, as decadent; the implication was that works of art were conceivable which had no content and hence were rejected due to their failure to grapple with the "serious" issues of the times. Marcuse's notion of repression meant that something stayed hidden and kept out of consciousness because of specific interests. Art instigated by that which was repressed was unconscious and non-directive. The person appeared to act in freedom, when in reality, he was being manipulated by institutionalized control.

For Marcuse, as with Freud, non-repressed art was sublimated art (Aufhebung); i.e., it involved the desexualized libido, directed at a given object. In post-industrial society sublimated art was de-sublimatized by absorbing the erotic libido which had been the work's "truth" or negation. The higher emotions of man, like pathos, despair, hope, were retained, but through what may be termed aesthetic-overkill, the work lost its critical function through fetishization. The aesthetic object as a sublimation of the instincts into higher emotional forms should be seen as a "phenomenological pursuit" rather than a "spectacle."[171] Through "overkill" the aesthetic object was experienced bodily, i.e., in its consumption, but not in its process - its meaning. The meaning remained hidden. The spectator was active only as an object and a subject only as a spectator. The potentiality for discovery and integration of self became lost. Like Adorno, Marcuse realized that art had become harmless without commitment. The consequences meant a revision in his theory. He introduced the notion of the "play impulse" which mediated the sensuous impulse (our receptivity of meaning) and our "form impulse" a sense of imposing form to reality. Using this Schillerian notion he saw fantasy and play as liberating notions. It was through their manifestations that a utopia was presented at the urgings of the repressed instinct.

Summary

Pre-Romanticism in Britain had been characterized by the destruction of the peasantry, by the imposition of enclosure laws and by the development of intensive farming. This made the transition into capitalism relatively an easy one. By 1830, owners of primary and secondary industry had fused with the old, formerly aristocratic agrarian class to form a new hegemonic ruling bloc. In France, the transition had not been as smooth. It was not until 1848, under Napoleonic dictatorship, that France industrialized. The preconditions for German industrialization had developed with the "Storm and Stress" movement which had challenged the rationalism of courtly culture, but due to the political weakness of the bourgeoisie, industrialization did not begin to take place until the 1850's.

The progressive evolutionary metaphor, developed as a result of this industrial expansion, began to wane as the struggle of capitalism changed to its monopolistic form ca. 1880. The petite bourgeoisie, who had hoped to participate in the splendour of industrialism, were shut out. In England this class had been assimilated through the Reform laws, however, elsewhere on the continent they had not been given franchise. The malaise which pervaded the fin de siècle reflected the inability of this class to achieve recogntion.

The concept of the avant-garde, forged by this class to claim a new participatory role in what was now a dispassionate society, proved to be the promise and the tragedy of the European avant-garde. Against Social Darwinist ideology they introduced an "electric metaphor" which was characterized by abstraction, dynamism and dematerialization. The Expressionists and Symbolists interpreted this metaphor as a phenomenological aesthetic which incorporated a more value-inclusive definition of art, one open to a wider field of practitioners. As Anarchists and Leftists, they rejected monopoly capitalism, preferring to throw in their lot with the proletariat. Impressionists, on the other hand, embraced a phenomenalism of moment and consequences, an "if-then" (ceteris paribus) attitude often embodied in serial paintings. They were the first artists to be promoted by the new artist-critic relationship.

In the period between the two world wars, avant-garde movements underwent a severe test. Many of the Expressionist cliques disbanded. But in the Weimar republic, the thin thread of progress maintained itself in Surrealist and left-leaning ideologies. They were supplanted by the aesthetic of Sachlichkeit, a mixture of utility and objectivity which the Bauhaus propagated into the industrial realm. Cubism, Vorticism, Orphism, Purism, followed suit. Advertising, as the new visual arts industry, destroyed the concepts of artistic "specialness" and imaginative truth. Just as monkish manuscript illumination constituted the dominant form of the visual tradition in some feudal societies, so free-standing oil painting produced by the Fine Art professions constituted the dominant form in certain entrepreneurial capitalist societies, advertising became the dominant form under monopoly capitalism.

This machine aesthetic proved to be a contradiction. The European avant-garde, in their writings, had expressed the desire to make art available to all by wedding the machine to design; the tragedy was that the resulting standardization overlooked the symbolic function of art which had been achieved under the organic metaphor of the nineteenth century. Physiognomic properties of material were given universal status. Taken to its logical conclusion this presupposition led to the International Style in architecture wherein "space" was defined by the basic building blocks of design (color, line, mass, rhythm), which were claimed as the universal language.

An advance over this formalism was a structural-functionalism which still maintained the dynamism of an evolutionary approach. The concept of élan vital pervaded the aesthetics of the Futurists, Constructivists, and Vitalists. They all had a notion of a "dialectic" and praxis which was translated as a feedback loop to the environment. This position redefined mimesis as adaptation, and art as an instrument to confront man with his environment. Probability, necessity, gestalt unity and teleology characterized their development. The concept of negentropy replaced entropy. Art took on a biological adaptative function. The dialectic as a "radar system" mediated the environment which was composed of "brutal" facts. In Klee's Pedagogical Sketchbooks, for example, there was a continual struggle between the natural order of the cosmos and an artificial order. "A concept [was] not thinkable without its opposite." Creation was a process, "a path to form rather than form itself." The concept of construction went beyond the given. By breaking down the solidity of objects, the inner structure of the object and by extension, of art itself, was re-tragedy was that the resulting standardization overlooked the symbolic function of art which had been achieved under the organic metaphor of the nineteenth century. Physiognomic properties of material were given universal status. Taken to its logical conclusion this presupposition led to the International Style in architecture wherein "space" was defined by the basic building blocks of design (color, line, mass, rhythm), which were claimed as the universal language.

An advance over this formalism was a structural-functionalism which still maintained the dynamism of an evolutionary approach. The concept of élan vital pervaded the aesthetics of the Futurists, Constructivists, and Vitalists. They all had a notion of a "dialectic" and praxis which was translated as a feedback loop to the environment. This position redefined mimesis as adaptation, and art as an instrument to confront man with his environment. Probability, necessity, gestalt unity and teleology characterized their development. The concept of negentropy replaced entropy. Art took on a biological adaptative function. The dialectic as a "radar system" mediated the environment which was composed of "brutal" facts. In Klee's Pedagogical Sketchbooks, for example, there was a continual struggle between the natural order of the cosmos and an artificial order. "A concept [was] not thinkable without its opposite." Creation was a process, "a path to form rather than form itself." The concept of construction went beyond the given. By breaking down the solidity of objects, the inner structure of the object and by extension, of art itself, was re-attempted to introduce their own critique of society through the values of "authenticity" and "honesty," but a new critic-artist relationship promoted the artist into a blue chip asset. This was made possible through the institution of an Arts Council, one of the first institutions of the post-war Welfare State. The illusion was preserved that art, in the Western democratic world, was "free and pure," not saddled by political domination as it was in Russia.

Most recently, the development of popular culture and anti-art ushered in a systems aesthetic wherein the artist became part of a service industry created by multi-national interests. Aesthetic theories of the New Left were burdened by the proposition that critical art had been unable to foster a proletarian consciousness.

Footnotes - Chapter Five

[1] See, O. Kirchheimer, "Changes in the Structure of Political Compromise," and F. Pollock, "State Capitalism: Its Possibilities and Limitations," in The Essential Frankfurt School Reader, ed. Andrew Arato and Eike Gebhardt (New York: Urizen Books, 1978), pp. 49-70 and pp. 71-94 respectively.

[2] Lenin's analysis of monopoly capitalism pointed out that a "trade-union consciousness" was not enought to bring about social reform. The fact that the Social Democratic Party participated in World War I, verified his critique. Consequently, the Third International (1918) forbade the representation of the Social Democratic Party in Russia splitting the loyalties between the Bolsheviks who argued that an élite vanguard was desirable, and Mensheviks who wanted to introduce capitalism and educational and economic reform.

[3] See, R. T. Shannon, The Crisis of Imperialism 1865-1915 (London: Hart-Davis, MacGibbon Pub., 1974), pp. 260-290. In England, as in France, the morbid condition called by the French nostalgie de la bone, a craving for the gutter, for the role of outcast, indulging in narcotics and alcohol, ending often in suicide was recognized as a characteristic expression of these times.

[4] See, S. Hughes, Consciousness and Society 1890-1930 (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1958).

[5] G. Lukács, History and Class Consciousness: Studies in Marxist Dialectics (London: Merlin Press, 1971).

[6] S. Hughes, Consciousness and Society 1890-1930, Chapter 2.

[7] Chandra Mukerji, "Mass Culture and the Modern World System," Theory and Society 8, 1979, pp. 245-268.

[8] By 1864, Clerk-Maxwell had fully propounded his theory of electromagnetism; a whole line of technics followed before the close of the century: electric steel furnace (1870), electric car (1875), electric telephone (1876), microphone and phonograph (1877), electric light and electric railroad (1879), electric elevator (1880), International Standard Time (1885), electromagnet (1887), X-Rays (1895) and by 1900 we have Planck's quantum theorem. For the longest time

scientists did not know what electricity was. The implication of this meant that the formal or symbolic element existed independently of the electromagnetic stimulus, which merely drew forth particular forms or archetypes from the mind. In this sense, Durkheim was able to posit the collective consciousness.

[9] See, H. White and C. White, Canvases and Careers: Institutional Change in French Painting (New York: John Wiley and Sons Inc., 1965). Under this system, renting of paintings for a week was initiated by stationers, antique dealers, canvas and color dealers. Paintings served as social occasions for customers' homes or for young ladies to copy. With lithography, specialization occurred - some artists did trees, some rocks, others added people strolling about in the ruins. Patronage was promoted by dedicating a series of well-known personages.

[10] Cf. George H. Lewis, "Taste Cultures and Culture Classes in Mass Society: Shifting Patterns in American Music," International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music 8(1), 1977, pp. 39-49; and William Weber, "Mass Culture and the Reshaping of European Musical Taste 1770-1870," International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music 8(1), 1979, pp. 5-23.

[11] Marie Rogers, "The Batignolles Group: Creators of Impressionism," Autonomous Groups, Vol. XIV, #3 and #4, Spring and Summer, 1959. Early precursors like Degas painted the wealthy, viewing sporting events, and representations of ballet dancers, night life and the promenade. Degas' favorite topic was the unsuitability of making art available to the lower classes and selling reproductions of paintings for thirteen sous. The Impressionists continually attempted to have their work recognized by the Salon but were continually refused. (e.g., In 1864 and 1867, the World's Fair in Paris displayed none of their works.) Eventually, through private showings, they were assimilated by the art public by 1890.

[12] G. Simmel, The Conflict in Modern Culture and Other Essays (New York: Teachers College Press, 1968), pg. 16.

[13] See, Tim Clark, "The Meanings of Manet's Olympia," Reporter, No. 135, February 16, 1979.

[14] Jack Burnham, Beyond Modern Sculpture (New York: G. Braziller Inc., 1968).

[15] D. D. Egbert, Social Radicalism and the Arts (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970), pp. 237-241.

[16] Jose Arügelles, Charles Henry and the Formation of a Psychophysical Aesthetic (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1972). Seurat's aesthetics is essentially Mach's positivist monism.

[17] See, Charles E. Gauss, The Aesthetic Theories of French Artists (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1949).

[18] See, Jacob Opper, Science and the Arts (New Jersey: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1973).

[19] Cézanne's correspondences make explicit references to the above dilemma. The following quotes seem to vivify his attempts.

> I conceive of it [art] as a personal apperception. I situate this apperception in sensation, and I ask that the intelligence organize it into a work.
>
> But of what sensations do you speak? of those of your feelings, or of those of your retina? I think that there cannot be a separation between them; besides, being a painter I attach myself first of all to visual sensation.

See P. Cézanne, "Letters," in Theories of Modern Art: A Source Book by Artists and Critics ed. Herschel Chipp (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), pp. 16-23.

[20] M. Schapiro, Paul Cézanne (New York: H. N. Abrams, 1952).

[21] Maurice Merleau-Ponty, Sense and Non-Sense (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1964), Cézanne's Doubt, pp. 9-25.

[22] See, T. Bruins, Mutual Aid in the Arts from the Second Empire to Fin de Siècle (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1972).

[23] See, M. Schapiro, Vincent Van Gogh (New York: H. N. Abrams, 1950).

[24] Vincent Van Gogh, "Letters," in Theories of Modern Art: A Source Book by Artists and Critics ed. Herschel Chipp (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), pp. 31-46.

> It sounds rather crude, but is perfectly true: the feelings for the things themselves, for reality, is more important than the feeling for pictures; at least it is more fertile and vital.

[25] M. Denis, "Definition of Neotraditionism," in Theories of Modern Art: A Source Book by Artists and Critics ed. Herschel Chipp (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), pp. 94-100.

[26] See, R. Shiff, "The End of Impressionism: A Study in Theories of Artistic Expression," The Art Quarterly 1(4), 1978, pp. 338-379.

[27] D. D. Egbert, Social Radicalism and the Arts, pp. 157ff.

[28] Albert Aurier, "Essay on a New Method of Criticism," in Theories of Modern Art: A Source Book by Artists and Critics ed. Herschel Chipp (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), Aurier's aesthetic, for example, was similar to Sausserian semiotic structuralism. His notion of Ideas was equivalent to Sausser's notion of langue, while the forms of signs through which the Ideas were expressed were parole.

[29] See, The Earl of Listowel, Modern Aesthetics: An Historical Introduction (New York: Teachers College Press, 1967), "The Theory of Einfuhlung," pp. 49-68.

[30] See, Theda Shapiro, Painters and Politics (New York: Elsevier Scientific Publishing Co., Inc., 1976). The generation of painters who followed the Post-Impressionists, being born in the 1860's and 1870's were committed to the idea of individualism, often through anarchism or communism. This generation included Matisse, Maro, Rouault, Munch, Kandinsky, Jawlensky, Nolde, Mondrian, Kollwitz, Grosz, Heartfeld, Chagall and Klee.

[31] Ibid., pg. 35. It was around this time that increasing mechanization was making the artisan obsolete; by 1920 it was more profitable to automate than to employ. Nineteen percent of families in modest circumstances were artisans or in traditional occupations; i.e., cabinet-makers, watch-makers. Only a handful were from common laborers.

[32] Like Baudelaire, these artists were constantly on the move to avoid rent (e.g., Modigliani always moved from Montmarte and Montparnasse) and they wore odd dress to separate themselves from bourgeoisie.

[33] T. Shapiro, Painters and Politics, pg. 91. Matisse wrote:

> Beneath that succession of moments which makes up the superficial existence of beings and things, and which clothes them in ever-changing appearances, quickly gone, one can search for a true more essential charcter on which the artist will base himself in order to give a more durable interpretation of reality.

[34] Ernst L. Kirchner, "Three Letters," in Voices of German Expressionism, ed. Victor Miesel (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1970). Kirchner, as a representative of the group had a deep feeling for "the great mystery which [stood] behind all events and things" which he said could be "seen or felt when we talk to a person or stand in a landscape or when flowers or objects suddenly speak to us. We can never represent it directly, we can only symbolize it in forms and words." (pg. 23) This statement was representative of the Die Brucke programme. The attempt was to capture the "essence" of this mystery. See also, Emil Nolde, "Work in Nine Parts," in Voices of German Expressionism, pp. 31-34.

[35] Victor Miesel, "Der Blaue Reiter," in Voices of German Expressionism, pg. 43. In 1911 the group outlined its intent.

> In this little exhibit we are not interested in propagandizing a single precise or particular form. On the contrary, we wish to demonstrate by a variety of forms that the inner wish of the artist can be structured in many different ways.

[36] Wassily Kandinsky, Concerning the Spiritual in Art (New York: George Wittenborn, Inc., 1947). He extended this idea to the national level. Every nation had a message which was revealed in its style.

[37] W. Kandinsky, "The Problem of Form," in Voices of German Expressionism, ed. Victor Miesel (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, inc., 1970), pg. 50. His theory was the early antecedent for a biological vitalism which was developed by Arp between the wars.

[38] Independent Expressionists like Kathe Kollwitz, Max Beckmann, Oskar Kokoschka, Ernst Barlach, were unfavorable to the abstract theories of Kandinsky and Marc. Theirs was a stress towards figure works. Yet all were a different strain of phenomenologist. Barlach was one of the first sculpturists to realize that material had its own meaning. Stone, wood and metal had their unique character. Kokoschka stressed consciousness as the attempt to experience the visions themselves. "We have to listen with complete attention to our inner voice in order to get past the shadows of words to their very source." Kollwitz on the other hand drew a poster realism for the Left factions between the wars. See, Ernst Barlach, "From a Notebook, 1906," in Voices of German Expressionism, pg. 91 and O. Kokoschka, "On the Nature of Visions," in Voices of German Expressionism, pg. 98.

[39] An Expressionist history of art was presented by Wilhelm Worringer whose doctoral dissertation, Abstraction and

Empathy: A contribution to the Psychology or Style was published as Form in Gothic (1911). See Wilhelm Worringer, Form in Gothic (London: G. P. Putnam's Sons Ltd., 1964).

[40] Theda Shapiro, Painters and Politics, pp. 87-89.

[41] M. Vayda, "Crisis and the Way Out," Telos 12, 1972, pp. 3-26.

[42] F. T. Marinetti, "The Foundation and Manifesto of Futurism," in Theories of Modern Art, ed. H. Chipp (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), pp. 284-297. In Italy the events which led to Fascism were the failures of social democratic leaders to seize economic power in 1919-1920. The Italian bourgeoisie had been economically weak. They were unable to create conditions for industrialization. A unique situation had presented itself wherein bourgeoisie and organized class movements (the fourth estate) were able to overthrow feudal landowners. This resulted in continued antagonisms between the trade unions and capitalists; the result - ruination of petty bourgeois strata.

[43] Umberto Boccioni, "Futurist Sculpture," in Modern Artists on Art, ed. L. Herbert (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1964), pp. 49-51. Boccioni, for example, worked with an "electric-vitalist" metaphor. He had an evolutionary open-ended approach, arguing that this new dynamism was a dialectical interplay "between the real form and the ideal form, between the new form and the traditional concept [mechanistic-static] there [was] a form that [was] changing, evolving, and one that [had] nothing to do with all the forms conceived of until now. The double concept of form, form in movement (relative movement) and movement of the form (absolute movement) can alone render in the duration of time that instant of plastic life as it was materialized..."

[44] Most of the civil service was state employed consisting of university profs, pastors, high school profs, doctors and lawyers, a state of affairs not unusual in Europe. Education had been expanding at an enormous rate as monopoly capitalism began its rise; the need for a new civil service was met by the institution of high schools and technical schools, above the primary schools which had heretofore served laissez-faire capitalism adequately. (In Holland for instance, the school population rose from fifteen thousand in 1910 to thirty-seven thousand in 1935; the university population increased from five thousand in 1919 to fourteen thousand in 1915.) See, H. W. von Der Dunk, "The Depression and the Intellectuals," in The Great Depression Revisited, ed. Van Der Wee (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1972), pp. 269-278.

[45] "Utopia and apocalypse" characterize the state of affairs. Spengler's Decline of the West clashed with Bloch's The Utopian Spirit. The apolitical views of Jaspers, whose conclusion posited an

undefinable irrational kernel in man and Heideggerian Daesin philosophy struck a resonant note with the German petty bourgeoisie who were threatened by post war inflation and the ever-increasing financial burdens mentioned earlier. German existentialism offered a paradoxical solution. The irrational fear of death was countermanded by the "secret of existence" which ennobled the person and provided inner strength. See, I. Frenzel, "Utopia and Apolcalypse in German Literature," Social Research 39, 1972, pp. 306-322.

[46] Martin Jay, "The Frankfurt School's Critique," Social Research 39, 1972, pg. 287. See also, Walter Lacquer,"The Intellectuals and the State of Weimar," Social Research 39, 1972, pp. 213-228.

[47] G. Lukács, Writer and Critic (London: Merlin Press, 1970).

[48] Ibid., pg. 33.

[49] See, Ernst Bloch, "Discussing Expressionism," and G. Lukács, "Realism in the Balance," in Aesthetics and Politics, (London: New Left Books, 1977), pp. 16-59; and Bertolt Brecht, "Against Georg Lukács," and Walter Benjamin "Conversations with Brecht," in Aesthetics and Politics, pp. 61-69. The strongest critique came from Bloch who attempted to make Lukács aware that authentic reality might in fact have been discontinuous, unintentional and non-identical. Brecht, too, saw Lukács unable to grapple with "production as unforeseeable."

[50] W. Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," in Illuminations (New York: Schocken Books, 1977), pp. 217-253.

[51] Ibid., pg. 224. See also, Heinz Paetzoldt, "Walter Benjamin's Theory of the End of Art," and Sandor Radnoti, The Early Aesthetics of Walter Benjamin," International Journal of Sociology 7(1), 1977, pp. 25-75 and pp. 76-143, respectively.

[52] W. Benjamin, The Origin of German Tragic Drama (London: New Left Books, 1977).

[53] W. Benjamin, "On Some Motifs in Baudelaire," in Illuminations (New York: Schocken Books, 1977), pp. 155-200. This position was not the same as Benjamin's earlier "Work of Art" thesis. Nor was it Benjamin's thesis in his "The Author as Producer" where he supported Brecht's political theatre characterized by a functional transofmation. Within this essay he supported the Dadaists who had used "authentic fragments of everyday life" to create the necessary shock affect. Brecht's epic theatre was to perform the same function; that is, create situations where interruptions made the audience reflect

on the "conditions" upon which the present rested. This montage effect was already found in the media and both Benjamin and Brecht insisted that the new - means of communication - were to be used to produce this "engaged art." See, W. Benjamin, Understanding Brecht (London: New Left Books, 1977), pp. 85-104.

[55] T. Adorno, "Reconciliation under Duress," and "Commitment," in Aesthetics and Politics (London:New Left Books, 1977), pp. 151-195. See also, T. Adorno, "Culture, Criticism and Society," in Prisms (London: Garden City Press, Ltd., 1967), pp. 17-34; and A. Arato, "The Antinomies of the Neo-marxian Theory of Culture," International Journal of Sociology 1 (Spring 1977):3-24. By laying stress on reception (consumption) and production, both Benjamin and Brecht, had avoided the formal characteristics of the work. The collective mode of reception was more important for Benjamin, willing to sacrifice the aura and hence, the autonomy and communicability of an artwork which did not participate in production (e.g., Kafka, Proust). Brecht and Benjamin, at this time, saw the disappearance of the aura to a formal principle of a collective political art. This approach was diametrically opposed to Adorno's apolitical view.

[56] M. Horkheimer and T. Adorno, Dialectics of Enlightenment (New York: The Seabury Press, 1972), "The Culture Industry: Enlightenment," pp. 120-167.

[57] T. Adorno, Prisms (London: Garden City Press Ltd., 1967), "Veblen's Attack on Culture," pg. 78.

[58] J. Habermas, The Legitimation Crisis (Boston: Beacon Press, 1975), pp. 85-86

[59] See, Eike Gebhardt and Andrew Arato, "Esthetic Theory and Cultural Criticism," in The Essential Frankfurt School Reader (New York: Urizen Books, 1978), pg.218.

[60] Ibid., pg. 221.

[61] See for example, Christine Themptander, "Photomontages," Praxis 2, 1976, pp. 179-188; R. Hunt, "For Factography," in Studio International 191(980), pp. 96-100; Paul von Blum, The Art of Social Conscience (New York: Universe Books, 1976), pp. 58-82; and G. Grosz, Ecce Homo (New York: Brussel and Brussel Ltd., 1965).

[62] John Willett, The New Sobriety: 1917-1933 (London: Thames and Hudson, 1978).

[63] Sigfried Giedion, Mechanization Takes Command (New York: Oxford University Press, 1948).

[64] L. Kolakowski, The Alienation of Reason (New York: Doubleday, 1968), pp. 106-114.

[65] Ibid., pp. 118-125. This was a structural-functionalist psychology. Experience was a homogeneous combination of perceptions which were organized collections of impression - the structure. Experiment consisted of those collections of perceptions which were suitable for the construction of scientific concepts - the function. Theory and practice formed a pragmatic unity. Inner and outer came into being as the result of the interaction between the CNS and the environment. This was called "essential empirocritical coordination." Hegel's nouema had become "scientific." In experience there was no dualism.

[66] See, J. Habermas, Knowledge and Human Interests (Boston: Beacon Press, 1968), pg. 81.

[67] U. Boccioni, "Preface, First Exhibition of Futurist Sculpture," in Modern Artists on Art, ed. Robert L. Herbert (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1964), pp. 49-51. The interpenetration of sculpture and its surroundings was to be achieved by coloring in black and greys the extreme edges of the sculptural contours. This produced a subdued effect on the sculptured planes hence, a new totality was achieved. The other methodological technique was to juxtapose undulating "dynamic" depressions which seemed to burst out in different directions as the viewer experienced the work through the movements of his body.

[68] John Willett, The New Sobriety: 1917-1933, pp. 111-117.

[69] L. Kolakowski, The Alienation of Reason, pp. 136-141.

[70] See also, J. A. Richardson, Modern Art and Scientific Thought (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1971), pp. 104-127.

[71] P. Klee, The Thinking Eye (London: L. Humphries, 1961).

[72] Ibid., "Introduction."

[73] Ibid., pg. 20. Klee thought that through the economy of line, color, etc., the psyche could be given a true form - a good Gestalt.

[74] Leo N. Tolstoy, What is Art? (New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1960).

[75] Ibid., pg. 51.

[76] V. Shklovsky, Mayakovsky and His Circle (New York: Pluto Press, 1972).

[77] See Victor Burgin, "Socialist Formalism," Studio International 191(980), 1976, pp. 146-154.

[78] V. Shklovsky, Mayakovsky and His Circle, Chapter 19, pp. 111-119.

[79] L. S. Vygotsky, Thought and Language (Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1962).

[80] R. Bickley, "Vygotsky's Contribution to a Dialectical Materialist Psychology," Science and Society, Vol. XLI, #2, 1977, pp. 191-207.

[81] A. Luria, Cognitive Development, Its Cultural and Social Foundation (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976).

[82] A. Luria, "The Historical Nature of Psychological Processes," International Journal of Psychology 6(4), 1971, pp. 255-272.

[83] Kasimir Malevich, "Introduction to the Theory of the Additional Element in Painting," and "Suprematism," in Theories of Modern Art, ed. H. Chipp (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968), pp. 337-345.

[84] Ibid., pg. 342.

[85] Ibid., pg. 351.

[86] N. Gabo, "The Realist Manifesto," and Sculpture: Carving and Construction in Space," in Theories of Modern Art, ed. H. Chipp (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968), pp. 325-336.

[87] For example, Meyerhold's dramatic theory was based on a biomechanical model, while Gastev, a poet, launched a campaign against wasting time. He wrote his instructions to his workers in a telegraphic style which inspired the characteristic use of Soviet acronyms. Gastev's slogan summed up the forthcoming series of events.

> Let's take the storm of the Revoltuion in Soviet
> Russia, unite it to the pulse of American life,
> and do our work like a chronometer!

See John Willett, The New Sobriety: 1917-1933, pg. 86.

[88] For recent Soviet rebuttal of Zhdanovism, see Avner Zis, Foundations of Marxist Aesthetics (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1977) and for a full account, see Maynard Solomon, Marxism and Art (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1973), pp. 235-262.

[89] S. Eisenstein, "Collision of Ideas," in Film: A Montage of Theories, ed. R. D. MacCann (New York: Dutton, 1966), pp. 34-38.

[90] John Willett, The New Sobriety: 1917-1933, pg. 122. Gropius' theory paralleled this thinking.

> A house is a technical-industrial organism, whose unity is composed organically from a number of separate functions... Building means shaping the different processes of living. Most individuals have the same living requirements.

[91] Marcel Franciscono, Walter Gropius and the Creation of the Bauhaus in Weimar: The Ideals and Artistic Theories of Its Founding Years (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1971).

[92] Ibid., pp. 72-73.

[93] Ibid., pg. 180.

[94] Josef Albers, Interaction of Color (London: Yale University Press, 1963).

[95] H. Chipp, "Neo-Plasticism and Constructivism," in Theories of Modern Art, ed. H. Chipp (Berkeley: University of California Press, L968), pg. 314.

[96] P. Mondrian, "Plastic Art and Pure Plastic Art," and "Statement," in Theories of Modern Art, ed. H. Chipp (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968), pp. 349-362. Mondrian had a species view of man. He grappled with the same problems as the Bauhaus; the integration of the individual and the whole. The solution was to envision the whole as "universal Beauty" as opposed to the "aesthetic expression of oneself." An artwork was to express the universal through the subjective. If this attempt was done figuratively, then universal beauty was veiled; yet both elements, the universal and individual, were indispensable. The solution for the correct balance between the subjective and objective was to be found in production in the actual construction. The search was for "neutral"forms which did not evoke individual feeling or ideas. Geometrical forms became the new synthesis. "Purified constructive elements set up pure relationships and these in their turn demanded pure constructive elements." This was the unity of art.

[97] Quoted in Kenneth Frampton, "The Evolution and Dissolution of Neoplasticism: 1917-1931," in Concepts of Modern Art, ed. Tony Richardson and Nikos Stangos (Harmondsworth: Penquin Books Ltd., 1974), p. 141.

[98] Rietveld and van Doesburg presented the same aesthetic. Rietveld's pure plastic order was expressed by his red-blue chain wherein he made use of primary colors inconjunction with a black linear frame. Van Doesburg presented this same economic functionalism, however, he could not reconcile the subject to the ideal form (Gesamtkunstwerk) which De Stijl aimed for. Consequently, he was to concentrate on the micro-level of everyday things (fitting furniture, instruments, utensils) where, as "spontaneously" engineered objects of culture, they played an integrative role. Unlike Mondrian he could not live with his dualism, turning to the Left in his last years.

[99] A. Salmon, "Anecdotal History of Cubism," in Theories of Modern Art, pp. 199-206, and D. Kahnweiler, "The Rise of Cubism," in Theories of Modern Art, pp. 248-258.

[100] See, C. H. Waddington, Behind Appearance: A Study of the Relations Between Painting and Natural Sciences (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1970). As Duchamp reflected during this early phase:

> Chrono-photography was at that time in vogue. Studies of horses in movement and of fencers in different positions as in Muybridge's albums were well known to me... There were discussions at the time of the fourth dimension and of non-Euclidean geometry.

See, Marcel Duchamp, in Eleven Europeans in American Museums of Modern Art Bulletin, Vol. 13, No. 4-5, 1948.

[101] Braque attempted to turn mass into space. "There is in nature a tactile space, a space I might almost describe as manual." The use of a tactile surface was to make the spectator feel the spaces between the objects, making the space around it an intricate part of the work. By breaking the form down so that its contours were made visible, enabled the spectator to "touch" the space around and between the shapes "optically." See, G. Braque, "Thoughts and Reflections on Art," in Theories of Modern Art, pp. 260-261.

[102] The introduction of collage elements, I believe, allowed the unification of disparate materials. The technique of replacing the solid by the void and the void by the solid was a closed system functionalism. A cut-out pipe in a newspaper could be replaced by the paper without the pipe on canvas so that the pipe re-emerged. A bottle could become a piece of paper, or a wood panel. A form now

took on a transformation role. Either it acted as a bottle, or conversely the material or flat color acted as a formal element. Lipschitz and Archipenko began to use negative space in their sculpture. A breast, for example became represented by a hole or a concavity.

[103] Juan Gris, "Response to a Questionnaire on His Art," and "Response to a Questionnaire on Cubism," in Theories of Modern Art, ed. H. Chipp (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968), pp, 274-276.

[104] John Willett, The New Sobriety: 1917-1933, pg. 168.

[105] See, John Berger, Success and Failure of Picasso (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, Ltd., 1965). Such was also the case of Joan Miro.

[106] See Christopher Green, "Purism," in Concepts of Modern Art, pp. 81-88.

[107] K. Adams, "Orphism," in Concepts of Modern Art, pp. 88-95; and R. Delaunay, "Letter to August Macke, 1912," in Theories of Modern Art, pp. 317-319.

[108] See, Kenneth Coutts-Smith, Dada (London: Studio Vista, 1970); and R. Huelsenbeck, "an Avant Data: A Hsitory of Dadism," in Theories of Modern Art, pp. 377-382.

[109] T. Tzara, "Lecture on Dada," Theories of Modern Art, pp. 385-389.

[110] Robert S. Short, "The Politics of Surrealism 1920-1936," Journal of Contemporary History 1, 1966, pg. 4. Paul Eluard wrote,

> Toute véritable morale est poétique, la poésie tendant au règne de l'homme, de tous les hommes, au règne de notre justice.
>
> Every genuine ethics is poetical. Poetry tends towards the humanistic element (the reign of man) in man and in mankind and makes for a just society. (Author's translation)

See also, M. Gérard, ed., Dali (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1968), pg. 173.

[111] Franklin Rosemont, André Breton and the First Principles of Surrealism (London: Pluto Press, 1978), pg. 21. Freedom for the Surrealists was to remove the censorships and repressions which prevented the unconscious from rising to the conscious. Breton wrote,

> [Surrealist automatism was]...a true photography of thought, the arm of which is not only to overcome the constraints of logic and morality by penetrating to the deepest recesses of the mind, but also, in so doing, to clear up the problem of knowledge and above all to liberate humanity from the ideological shackles that enforce the contradiction between dream and waking life.

See Also, Amos Vogel, Film as a Subversive Art (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1974), pp. 60ff; and E. Piscator, The Politcal Theatre (Hamburg: Rowohlt Verlag Pub. Co., 1963, Avon Printing, 1978), pp. 1-26.

[112] See Berthold Hinz, Art in the Third Reich (New York: Pantheon Books, 1979).

[113] Lillian B. Miller, Patrons and Patriotism: The Encouragement of the Fine Arts in the United States 1790-1860 (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1966), pg. 110 and S. MacDonald, The History and Philosophy of Art Education (London: University of London Press, 1970.

[114] H. Braverman, Labor and Monopoly Capitalism (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1974), pp. 162-163.

[115] For these developments see, S. Aronowitz, False Promises: The Shaping of American working Class (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1973).

[116] See, Philip French, The Movie Moguls (Harmondsworth: Pelican Books, 1971), pp. 30-31. The founders of American film industry had a daring and hard driving Napoleonic character, what was then called "cheek" (chutzpah). This "tycoon" character was needed to coordinate the industry, which meant knowledge of handling publicity, show business packaging and the creation of the Star System. None of these organizers had a strong artistic background. Their concern was not quality but sale.

[117] Stuart Ewen, Captains of Consciousness (New Yokr: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1976).

[118] Quoted in R. French, The Movie Moguls, pg. 72.

[119] E. A. Erickson, "The Great Crash of October 1929," in The Great Depression Revisited, ed. Van Der Wee (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1972), pp. 3-17.

[120] At Hollywood the situation was different. Here the middle management stood between the studio chiefs and actual film-makers. They coordinated the activities of specialized departments. Unlike industrial middle management they were usually relatives of studio chiefs. "Boy wonders" or "the boy genius" however, made their way from the movie sets to fill this class. By working at numerous jobs in the industry they had a relative knowledge of its operations.

[121] See, Carlo Antonio, "Review of Kindelberger's World in Depression," Telos 24 (Summer 1975):173-178.

[122] M. Eyskens, "The Influence of the Great Depression on Economic Theory," in The Great Depression Revisited, ed. Van Der Wee The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1972), pp. 24-44.

[123] M. Horkheimer, "The End of Reason," in The Essential Frankfurt School Reader, pp. 26-49.

[124] M. Horkheimer, "The Authoritarian State," in The Essential Frankfurt School Reader, pp. 95-117.

[125] S. Aronowitz, False Promises: The Shaping of American Working Class, pg. 228.

[126] See, Heil Harris, The Artist in American Society: The Formative Years 1790-1860 (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1966).

[127] Clive Bell, Art (New York: Capricorn Books, 1958).

[128] Roger Fry, Vision and Design (New York: The New American Library Inc., 1974, A Meridian Book), pp. 17-20.

[129] Francis V. O'Connor, ed., The New Deal Art Projects: An Anthology of Memoirs (Washington, D.C.: Simithsonian Institute Press, 1972).

[130] Francis V. O'Connor, Art for the Millions (Greenwich, Conn.: New York Graphic Society, 1973).

[131] Leo Trotsky, "Literature and Revolution," in Theories of Modern Art, pp. 462-470.

[132] Stuart Davis, "Abstract Painting Today (1940)," in Stuart Davis, ed. Diane Kelder (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1971), pp. 116-121.

[133] Quoted in Francis O'Connor, Art for the Millions, pg. 26

[134] Ibid., pg. 27.

[135] Stuart Davis, "What About Modern Art and Democracy? 1943," in Stuart Davis, pg. 137.

[136] See, Jean Piaget, Structuralism (New York: Harper and Row Pub., 1970). Piaget had introduced the concepts of assimilation and accommodation. Transformation laws of development were defined. Goedel, in mathematics, introduced the notion of weak and strong structures which overcame a relativism by allowing the labels of true and false to be applied to the structures which produced pragmatic results.

[137] J. Dewey, Art as Experience (New York: Capricorn Books, 1958).

[138] Marjorie Grene, Existentialism (Chicago: Chicago Press, 1970), pp. 1-15.

[139] Consumerism had boomed until the Depression; buildings became higher and bigger; and the skyscraper made its appearance (1910). Louis Sullivan and Frank Lloyd Wright's structural-functionalism served this expanding industry well. the mechanization of the household combined the kitchen and dining room as one "workspace." The selling of the assembled kitchen required the manufacture of kitchen furniture and the continuous work top. Appliances like the refrigerator, dishwashers, garbage disposals as well as the introduction of water supply were marketed as complete units. "Form follows function" aesthetics, covered the entire household.

[140] C. Harrison, "Abstract Expressionism," in Concepts of Modern Art, pp. 168-210.

[141] Carl Jung, Man and His Symbols (New York: Dell Publishing Co., 1964), pp. 1-94.

[142] See for example, Hans Hofmann, "Excerpts from His Teaching," in Theories of Modern Art, pp. 536-543. Hoffman introduced the "push and pull" color theory wherein every patch or stroke of pigment by its color, texture, shape, at once pushed itself into the background and in the next moment it pulled itself out. This pulsating dynamic space was seen as an "over-all-ness;" a world of sub-atomic particles where there seemed to be a dense continuum of events - a "soft-space."

[143] William C. Seitz, Tobey (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1962), pg. 23.

[144] See, C. e. Gauss, The Aesthetic Theories of French Artists (London: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1966), pp. 76ff.

[145] See, G. H. Bauer, Sartre and the Artist (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1969); and J. P. Sartre, Between Existentialism and Marxism (New York: William Morrow and Co., 1974), pp. 170-198.

[146] L. Moholy-Nagy, "Space-Time Relations," in Esthetics Contemporary, ed. Richard Kostelanetz (New York: Prometheus Books, 1978).

[147] L. Moholy-Nagy, "The Function of Art," in Esthetics Contemporary, pp. 71-75.

[148] The Cold-War was the pre-condition for these events. The American Left's activities came to a halt when U.S.S.R.'s purge trials and the House of Un-American Activities Committee began investigating the film industry. By 1951, under the impact of McCarthy and the background of the Korean War, black lists had been drawn up, thousands lost their jobs for communist sympathies. See, John Fekete, "The New Criticism: Ideological Evolution of the Right Opposition," Telos 20 (Summer 1974):2-51.

[149] S. Aronowitz, False Promises: The Shaping of American Working Class, pp. 266-267.

[150] Michael Young, The Rise of the Meritocracy (New York: Random House, 1959).

[151] Marcia Bystryn, "The Production of Culture," Social Research 45(2), 1978, pp. 390-410. Betty Parsons typified this institution. She had made contracts in Europe (Man Ray, Gertrude Stein, Hart Crane, Alexander Calder) which enabled her to start up her gallery in 1946.

[152] C. Greenberg, Art and Culture (Boston: Beacon Press, 1961).

[153] H. Rosenberg, The Tradition of the New (New York: Horizon Press, 1960).

[154] A. Toffler, The Culture Consumers (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1964).

[155] M. Elkoff, "The American Painter as a Blue Chip," in The Sociology of Art and Literature, ed. Milton C. Albrecht, et al. (New York: Praeger Pub., 1970), pp. 311-323.

[156] Judith Adler, "Innovative Art and Obsolescent Artists," Social Research 42(21), 1975, pp. 390-410.

[157] J. Tagg, "American Power and American Painting: The Development of the Vanguard Painting in the United States Since 1945," Praxis 2, 1976, pp. 59-80.

[158] T. Wolfe, The Painted Word (New Yokr: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1975).

[159] G. H. Lewis, "Taste Culture and Cultural Classes in Mass Society: Shifting Patterns in American Music," International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music 8(1), 1977, pp. 39-49.

[160] Simon Firth, The Sociology of Rock (London: Constable, 1978).

[161] Donald Kuspit, "The Art of Reductionism," Main Currents in Modern Thought XXIX, 1972, pp. 21-27.

[162] Lucy Lippard, Six Years: The Dematerialization of Art (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1973).

[163] John Fekete, "McLuhanacy: counterrevolution in Cultural Theory," Telos 15, pp. 75-123.

[164] Anthony Hill, Data: Directions in Art, Theory and Aesthetics (Greenwich Conn.: New York Graphic Society, 1968).

[165] A. Moles, "Art and Cybernetics in the Supermarket," in Cybernetics, Art and Ideas, ed. Jasin Reichardt (Greenwich, Conn.: New York Graphic Society, 1971).

[166] M. Bense, "The Projects of Generative Aesthetics," in Cybernetics, Art and Ideas, ed. Jasin Reichardt (Greenwich, Conn.: New York Graphic Society, 1971).

[167] Ibid., pg. 68.

[168] H. Marcuse, Eros and Civiliation (Boston: Beacon Press, 1955); Counterrevolution and Revolt (Boston: Beacon Press, 1972);

The Aesthetics Dimension (Boston: Beacon Press, 1978); and An Essay on Liberation (Boston: Beacon Press, 1969).

[169] H. Marcuse, "Affirmative Character of Culture," Negations (Boston: Beacon Press, 1968), pp. 88-133.

[170] See N. Foxell, Art and Confrontation: The Arts in an Age of Change (Greenwich, Conn.: New York Graphic Society Ltd., 1968). This book is a series of articles written by many students involved in the 1968 Revolution.

[171] For a wide variety of articles which deal with this distinction, see Paul Breines, ed., Critical Interruptions, New Left Perspectives on Herbert Marcuse (New York: Herder and Herder, 1970). See also, Francis Hearn, Toward a Critical Theory of Play," Telos 30, 1977, pp. 145-160.

CHAPTER SIX

Historical Recovery of Aesthetic Sensibility

In what way may a "hermeneutic application," in Apel's sense,[1] be made from our interpretation of art history? How can this artistic heritage be critically appropriated? If truth is revolutionary, how can a political and ethical dimension be introduced into the teaching of art, given that only such experience which does not merely reproduce, but transcends and points towards greater creative participation is truly critical? What then is the new sensibility needed for a proletarian consciousness? What kinds of rituals or performance pieces may be used to shock us into this sensibility?[2]

* * *

Unquestionably, the achievement of recent aesthetic education has been to attempt to begin where the children are "at." Certainly, any approach to education must come to terms with what Binswanger[3] has called the "existential a priori," i.e., the meanings that children attribute to their life-worlds. The movement from ego as merely an object which perceives, thinks and acts as a self-acting automaton responding to his/her instinctual needs to a constituted self, where the person is wholly subjective and reflective of his attitudes and intentions should be the concern of any educational programme. My concern is with the aesthetic world which the child lives in; however, the aesthetic world is intimately related to all his other life-world experiences. The programme I envisage, which would lead one from an egocentric aesthetic consciousness to a critical aesthetic consciousness, rests on the historical recovery of art history undertaken. Work, sociality and consciousness as the current essences of being human, require that objectification, interaction and reflection be synthetic moments of the curriculum.

From my historical survey, I can identify at least six ways of perceiving the world aesthetically. These form a hierarchy in the art programme; each successive aesthetic mode is a higher synthesis than the one preceding it. These six forms of praxis become the sequential and developmental moments of the programme.

Form One:
The Naive or Common Sense Aesthetic Consciousness

The common sense aesthetic is a dimension of the life-world which we are born into and which we unquestioningly accept. It is the taken-for-grantedness world. We consider the state of things to be natural. We have no reason to doubt the order of things nor our perceptions of that order because our praxis is defined by a higher order than ourselves. We do not question why we enjoy particular artworks; nor do we question our feelings of hate; most of the time we just do not care. But this is not a state of ignorance or of barbarism (the barbarian has a culture of his own); rather it is the unquestioning acceptance of dominance and submission to a power which is thought to have Absolute truth. "His" truth is The truth, and The truth is your truth. "His" conscience is your conscience as your conscience is "His" conscience; your work is "His" work and your interactions, feelings and ideas are subordinate to "His" feelings and ideas. Historically, this Master-Slave relationship has taken a number of forms: warlord and artist; church and artist; artist and king; and artist and bourgeoisie. The exchange value for the appropriation of artistic services has been rendered in terms of both status and monetary funds, as illustrated in Figure 1.

For the master, the artwork became a form of enrichment, embellishment, power, glorification and propaganda: values not accessible to the artist himself. Today this aesthetic display is evident in the size and height of skyscrapers of multinational firms, in their massive signs, equivalent to the heralds and cartouches of yester-years. Ranch houses perched on top of hills and secluded country houses are the new signs of dominance.

As the servant, the artist learns the rules of what sells. He learns how to please his master, to earn from Him a customary "pat on the head." He solves artistic problems for Him; builds forts, churches, irrigation systems, tombs, machinery. He learns how to "feel for the right answer" or develop the needed skill which will make him a scarce commodity. Such a repressive relationship has been called by some, a "culture of silence."[4] In our art classrooms such "silence" exists when the programme becomes entirely teacher based. One wonders about the value judgments which give rise to children's artworks which have been done for the teacher; where marks are doled out as prizes for obedience. Their struggle is to please the intent of the master-teacher. They must produce their products to hit the response chord of His expectations.

Form Two:
Rationalist and Empiricist (Classicist) Aesthetic Sensibility

To recover what the master had gained at the expense of the slave is for the slave to become equal to the master by possessing a skill which the master cannot appropriate. This is to begin to break the authority structure, i.e., the Guild. It is to be minimally a thinking ego, a rational human being. When the Church, the aristocracy and the King gained self-recognition, their needs and interests were met. Historically this narcissism has taken several forms, as illustrated in Figure 2.

It can be gathered from Figure 2, that artworks evoke a sense of personal worth, tradition, lineage, ownership, power, embellishment, monumentalism and propaganda. It is the being-in-the-world of an ennobled self or Ego.

The haute bourgeoisie (Gironde and squirearchy) in order to stand on an equal footing with the master (Church and State) appropriated this egotistical personality. The new seat of power became the country house or hôtel. Farmland and the cattle and sheep on it, as well as the newly developed weaving industry, became the new evidences of wealth. Noblesse oblige was replaced by a paternalism towards those who worked the land and spun the wool. Courtly clothes were slightly modified to provide utility. The family portrait, set against the land and country house, was the new symbol of wealth.

This rise in status came by way of a logico-centric world-view. In the French context, Descartes' rationalism or universal knowledge received an aesthetic translation by Boileux, Batteux and Poussin. The phenomenal disorder of nature became the order of geometry; the bio-mechanical metaphor. In the Academy, by introducing axiomatic laws of art, the artistic rules of Church and State were challenged. Color lost its religious and royal symbolization. The Baroque fell into disrepute. Planned intention and logically reasoned judgments became new artistic criteria. If Nature was Reason, then "natural morality" and "natural aesthetics" had logical principles. David's contrived sober classicism became the exemplum virtutis of this class.

In England, Empiricism challenged the State and Church by introducing the Age of Prose, which stressed clarity, rationality and intelligibility. In art, classical rules of balance, proportion, control, unity and stability were worked out. The king became a figurehead; a shift from The position, to the position occurred. The diorama and the daugerrotype and the historical novel were the achievements of the artist as the "organic intellectual"[5] for this class.

In the classroom, this mode of being moves the action from a teacher imposed curriculum to a teacher directed curriculum. Interests and needs are defined by the teacher. The teacher's biography, that is, his/her experiences, dominates the artistic activities. Significantly, empirical evidence is introduced into the classroom to support that position. Statistical surveys describe average aesthetic responses and these rest on Bentham's rationale - What is "good" for the average is good for everybody.

Form Three:
Phenomenalist Aesthetic Sensibility

The haute bourgeoisie, as the owners of production and the new cultural masters, wished to maintain this stable logico-centric view of reality at the expense of the moneyed middle class who were the bourgeoisie and the *declassé*. Rather than accepting institutional constraints, the moneyed middle class developed a new view of Self which was to be democratic (free and equal) and *fraternalistic*. In an ethic of cooperation and free competition, ascription was replaced by achievement. The Other was an equal by virtue of usefulness. Courtly clothes were rejected in favour of the top hat and frock coat of *laissez-faire* capitalism, which stressed the family and home, hard work and perseverance.

The Pre-Romantics were still imbued in the Academy, but the Romantics were at best only affiliated with it. The stress on Nature, natural growth, metamorphosis and cyclical movement were values of a class which demanded change. The Age of Prose was replaced by the Age of Poetry as art began to be concerned with the secondary qualities of things, i.e., the physiognomy of the object. By introducing the notion of Mind which was a synthesis of the Body and Soul, the Romantics overcame the antinomies that the Sophists had posed: form versus content, nature versus art, useful versus pleasurable and talent versus education.

Color theory moved to take on the "natural" color of "life." Goethe and Turner, the Realists, and Constable represent the movement towards a contextualist, heuristic color theory which was to display its highest achievement in the serializations of the Impressionists and Post-Impressionists and the Social Realists.

In the scientific hypothetical-deductive genre of the nineteenth century, validity became the new criterion, determined by contextualism which admitted that different variations were probable. This was a progressive open-ended evolutionary metaphor. Whereas the Realists' social formation was the cénacle or coterie, the Impressionists ushered in the new artist-critic relationship where the stress was on a career. A personalism was introduced.

Genius and the imagination became important character traits. A free play of the imagination was condoned; eccentricity and the use of opiates were common to "experience" the emotions, however sinister or sublime, erotic or macabre.

In a liberal/romantic art education programme, the teacher recognizes the child as a subject. There is a recognition that each student is a unique self. The class is treated "democratically." In this child-centered approach, each child attempts to pursue his/her own interests, to fulfill his/her own needs. To be a creative explorer of artistic materials, ideas and the use of particular media are taught. On the surface, it appears as though the interests and needs of the individual child are being met; but the critic-teacher is the "invisible hand" who governs the classroom and manipulates the artistic direction. If the "social contract" is broken (e.g., the child does not reach his/her "potential" or "quota") then the heavy hand of the law becomes visible.

Form Four:
Existential-Phenomenological Aesthetic Sensibility: Modernism and Abstraction

Normative Phenomenological Sensibility

The development of an existential-phenomenological aesthetic sensibility must be seen as four distinct consciousnesses which ensued from the *fin de siècle*; two of these movements were repressive and two progressive. First a normative phenomenological sensibility is described and then the progressive and the repressive movements are differentiated.

Generally speaking, from my historical examination, the existential-phenomenological movements were a recovery of the *Early Christian* era, the commotion of the Roman Empire. They chose as their models one of the Stoics, Epicureans or Skeptics, rather than Plato and Aristotle. Phenomenologists stressed human countenance and human sensitization.

The dividing line is between those artistic movements which gave priority to essence over existence and those which saw existence as prior to essence. The former groups, generally formed before World War I, led to a *violent* praxis of Formalism or Realism within authoritarian states. Depth experience or intuition was immutable and fixed. Being was a fixed entity.

For the latter group, developing between and after the wars, Being was a Becoming. The deep intuitive level was open and changeable. Where the former group was largely of petit bourgeois persuasion, the latter was of proletarian and partisan persuasion.

Subjugated to a laborer's existence, both the proletariat and the petite bourgeoisie, as the newly formed bureaucratized stratum of monopoly capitalism, attempted to formulate a new consciousness, one which would avoid the inter-relationships of a commodity society. Rather than the competitive Self, which characterized the bourgeoisie, they attempted to form a social Self with exchange relationships founded on cooperation and the sharing of artistic knowledge. Not the home, but the community became their concern. Rather than the individual, the group became important. As against the cénacle - coterie or artist-critic relationship, these groups were held together by feeling rather than status. Perception was a "communion."

"Feeling," "expression," or "affective quality" entailed two aspects: first, a capacity or a mode of being of the subject, and secondly, an a priori grasp of the "interior" of the art object; i.e., the world of the work. Feeling "[was] a mode of being of the subject which correspond[ed] to a mode of being in the object. Feeling [was] that in me which relate[d] to a certain quality of the object through which the object manifest[ed] its intimacy."[6] Feeling required a commitment to interpenetrate the Other's depth or being-in-the-world. Such a commitment implied a mode of being on the part of the subject. "This mode of being, of communion, was possible when the subjective 'depth' of the viewer matched the objective 'depth' of the object." This resulted in a feeling, a communication made possible by the affective a priori. Communication was affect as opposed to effect which was a causal reaction or emotion. Affect was immediate. In order for such feelings to be communicated, intimacy and the positing of a collective conscience (ethos) was necessary. One had to be part of the "in" group to "grasp" the "immediacy" of the work. The work had to "awaken an echo in the body." Thus one had comprehended the Other's personal symbols, by going beyond the artwork's surface to get at the "hidden" and hence "secretive" meaning. Intuition was the grasp of the deep structure of the work. The "matching of depths" (i.e., the affective a priori in oneself with the affective a priori in the other or in the artwork) became the measure of one's personal sensitivity. The most profound or "deepest" person was the one who was receptive to the maximum degree of affect. The idea of "opening oneself up" to the work meant freeing oneself from bias and false expectations. It entailed performing the epoché. Failure to experience the work was a self-test, a measure of authenticity. The connoisseur was thus constituted from the avant-garde soup, a collector and contemplator of aesthetic qualities and aesthetic experiences.

The modernist movements were all concerned with species-man, and with self-expression and communication as fundamental human needs. Self-exteriorization was essential to gain autonomy and to distinguish personality of "personal style." This was essential since the subject-object distinction disappeared with these groups. The artwork defined them as much as they defined the artwork. Learning about the world of the work meant learning about the affective *a priori* categories within oneself. These categories *were* one's own existential personality. Species being was human countenance, it was the Idea of Man. The implicit existential *a priori* of man in the world defined his species being. If one grasped the "melancholia" of Munch's work as a quality which underlay all his actions, then one grasped his humanity, for this human quality was also in oneself. The group could then sensitize themselves to what it meant to be human. Sharing and caring defined an ethic by which they consciously wished to live.

The search was for the "authentic self." The depth of a human being always remained mysterious, but it was this that distinguished him from an object. Knowledge was asymptotic, an unfathomable depth of man which for many artists resulted in a mysticism. Abstraction was the reaction to the representation of Romanticism. Comprehension transcended understanding; axiology (the taken-for-granted existential affective *a priori*) transcended epistemology (as epistemology transcended ontology previously). Four distinct artist groups interpreted this search for the "authentic self" differently. Each is briefly discussed below.

Epicurean-Formalist-Phenomenological Consciousness: Violent Praxis

The Futurists and Symbolists were Anarchists. Operating just prior to and then during World War I, they embraced authenticity as "*will-*

to form." Theirs was a *violent* praxis which led to the imposing of form upon what was a chaotic world. If man was undefinable then man was forced to forge his own identity at the expense of the Other. This was the existential interpretation of Social Darwinism, and the view of Nietzsche, Schopenhauer and Wagner. Riegl's notion of *Kunstwollen*[7] (artistic will) and Worringer's *Form in the Gothic*[8] are examples of art history written in this manner.

The will to power leads to supremacy. Man as the noumenon and the world as the phenomenon lead to Fascism when Being (the noumena) is fixed and the "authentic self" rigidly defined. The Fascist and Nazi movements drew on the Imperialism of Rome and the *aesthetics of the Epicureans*, introducing pageantry and festivals to bolster national pride and the feeling of being a citizen of the Third Reich.

Gropius' Bauhaus-manufactured "genius" was to eventually supply the "programmers" to solve Hitler's aesthetic problems. Leni Riefenstahl's film *Festival of Nations* marked the wedding of art to politics in the Modern Period as a piece of propaganda. Such Expressionists as Gottfried, Benn, Berger and Barlach were the propaganda disseminators; Futurists, Constructivists, Neo-Plasticists, Cubists, Vorticists were the problem-solvers of monopoly capitalism while the Suprematists and Formalists were the Russian counterparts. Formalism (Structuralism) lost sight of man. This aesthetic proclaimed universal affective *a priori* laws which were applicable for all.

The educational model derived from this position stresses unquestioning obedience. Tradition and a "Great Man" theory perpetuate the myth of superiority of nationality and race.

Stoic Ontotheological Phenomenologists

As against the "Formalists" some Expressionists developed a messianic existentialism (e.g., Kierkegaard, Buber, Chagall, Kirchner, Beckmann), which also fixed the interior affective a priori. Essence prior to existence was defined as unknowable and mysterious. The Stoics, who were moralizers, served as their model. This position was more value inclusive than the previous one. Children's artworks, primitives of any persuasion and amateurs were all given equal footing as long as they were "in the know" and had the "keys" to unlock their personal vision. For them, much the same sort of social relationships and ethics existed which Mannheim had pointed to when the Christians developed a Utopian view of Heaven against the hedonism of Rome. The Christian existential artists developed a Utopian community against the commodity consumerism of the bourgeoisie.

Education following the progressive Christian phenomenologist pattern has been employed by numerous religious groups who began their schools necessarily outside the mainstream of the public school system (Montessori, Christian, Jewish, Lutheran). More emphasis is placed on sharing, cooperation, consensual agreements. These schools remain shut away from the real world, following a personal creed of ethics. Art becomes an expression of personal worth to maintain a sense of identity and hence, community. Although progressive, these institutions are politically naive.

Skeptical-Phenomenological Aesthetic Sensibility

As against the prior two groups, the Surrealists were proletarian (e.d., Grosz, Brecht, Eisenstein, early Lukács and Kollwitz). They tried to make the intuitive more visible. The affective a priori was a fixed passive category; presence (body) and represence (Imagination) were the only active surface phenomena. The Surrealists tried to make all three levels active. Activating the unconscious, interior, affective a priori meant the introduction of a more active ethical stance, transitional to the incorporation of a politics: transitional, because theirs was an audience provocation only one step removed from the violent provocation of the Formalist position of Soviet Russia, Nazism and Fascism. They developed dialogue as against monologue. Using Freud as their model, the attempt was made to uncover the unconscious through shock. The gallery was avoided. Everyday life was incorporated. There were exhibitions in automobile dealerships and in the streets. Aesthetic sensibility drew its source from the Skeptics. Certainty was unattainable; one could only discover mediations.

Educational consequences of using Skeptical-Phenomenological aesthetic sensibility as a basis for classroom practice might mean presenting the conditions for a paradoxical situation through a dramatical and vivid experience. This antinomous situation would then be resolved by a class through some form of affirmative action.

Structural-Functional Aesthetic Sensibility: Vitalism

In America, the Depression provided a commotion of aesthetic sensibilities which included the formalism of Social Realists, the stoic expressionism of Siporin and Newell, and the Skeptic moralizing of Shahn and Levine. To these was added a Structuralist-Functionalist aesthetic, developed by fleeing intellectuals from Europe. They opened up the formalist position which had concerned itself with surface appearances by introducing an environmental or diachronic element.

The idea of limitless growth was ushered in by postwar existentialism. Bergsonian élan vital had first found its expression in the nihilism of Dada and then in Sartre's existentialism which grounded man in freedom trapped in a sea of choice. Sartre's existentialism brought into the open, the problem of how to develop a conscientized proletarian consciousness. His book, Being and Nothingness introduced an unconscious, intuitive, political activism which also challenged the solution of Formalism calling for a re-solution but failing to provide one. Life after all was absurd. This was the dilemma of all existential postwar art. Besides such figures as Giacometti, Camus and Grillet, the Neo-Dadaist Jean Tinguely's machine pessimism was the sculptural expression of existential art. His works vibrated, gyrated, shook and then "committed suicide." These artists posed the problem but offered no solution. Instead, they provoked commitment at the deep level.

The bourgeois solution to this dilemma was a transcendence based on quantity. The introduction of a pragmatic aesthetic theory was put to use. Progressive education became the adaptation and assimilation of greater and greater wealth, goods and consumerism.

In the Design Schools run by Moholy-Nagy, Gropius and Albers, this bio-physical approach mechanized the home. Assemblage became its chief form. Its greatest expression was to be found in the kinetic art of the screen. The Abstract-Expressionists (Tachisme in France) were the full embodiment of this adaptive-assimilative art. They were involved in their canvasses, working with accident and "overallness," searching for that elusive Jungian archetype, the diachronic code.

In an art program governed by structural-functional sensibility, attempts are made to offer a sequential and developmental programme. The child-centered approach recognizes developmental states. Planned experiences are supposed to be given at the proper moment to foster further growth. The teacher becomes a facilitator or orchestrator or integrator rather than a governor.

When applied on a national scale, such programmes promote an integration of art and life in that, for example, they provide access to the best artworks. André Malraux,[9] as De Gaulle's Minister of Culture, provided an exemplary case for this approach, while Dewey was his counterpart in America. Both had a view of art as a "museum without walls."

Form Five: General Systems Aesthetics Sensibility: Post-Modern Society

The creation of Systems Aesthetics marks a more transcendental and more sophisticated "invisible hand" theory of the new culture bearers, the multi-nationals who are supported by the technocratic practices of middle and upper management at the expense of the blue and white collar workers and a conscientized proletariat. The illusion prevails that there is more flex time, greater diversification and greater choice than ever before. What may have been a repressive assembly line job has metamorphosed into short run productions of the new industrial revolution in electronics, created by micro-processors.[10] White and blue collar workers become indistinguishable as they all wear sports shirts to the work place and carry on conversations in noise-free environments. Rather than aiming for mass cultural control, the new pop culture, exemplified by Warhol's "Factory," caters to only the very rich or to star status. There are promises of talking houses, ad hoc television networks, mini media presentations and the video-disc to tantalize the public.

Buckminister Fuller has coined the word synergism for this new ecological consciousness.[11] Penetration, ovulation, germination, expulsion, repulsion, aesthetics of the small, aesthetics of the ugly, the active sculptural environment are qualties which define today's "anxious" art object.[12]

It is a service society and its art forms are just that, services. Interaction and intent are the new values. The artist is a programmer of the total design or environment. The computer and the scale model are his brushes; the environment with its hypercomplex subsystems are his new elements. The dematerialization of the media has resulted in air, light, the kinaesthetics of change, music, pure color, smoke and fire being the new media which insure temporality and brief duration, leaving plastics, the medium of structural-functionalism, behind. The artist is his *own* critic. The science of *semiotics* has freed him as the "flow-charter" of his own course. He now deciphers and monitors the temporal codes of the changing ecological system much like the microphysicist charts the traces of the new elements he creates. He is an Un-Artist in Kaprow's sense.[13] As a professional he now has a clientèle.

In our schools this form results in an indiscriminate problem-solving approach to art education. Based on the "unit" this discipline-based curriculum is factory-oriented. Its type of organization attempts to incorporate maximum diversity within a minimum amount of order, typical of popular culture. It is a transcendent theory of the "invisible hand" typical of a bureaucratic structure wherein it becomes progressively more difficult to uncover the hidden *a priori* which maintain the functioning of its sub-systems.

Form Six:
Existential-Praxiological Aesthetic Sensibility

The development of a praxiological, aesthetic consciousness must be seen on a number of distinct levels which ensued from the 1950's. Some were progressive, others regressive.

Drawing upon its theory from Marx, praxis becomes an inseparable link between ethics and politics. Politics as an action which "acts" on the world is the categorical foundation upon which rests an ethic. One must have a sense of politics before an ethic is possible. This sense of politics has been called phronesis. The movement is from Being, through Becoming, to Creating. To give consciousness to this political sense has been the aim of conscientized, middle class students, the intellectuals of the New Left, under-privileged minorities, notably women libbers, Black Liberation movements and working class youth. These artists "work" in the actual world. Each gives a different emphasis to the study of provoked life, invoked life and revoked life.

Provoked life. In order to gain a sense of self-identity as a minority member of a minority group, who wants to be counted, to have a say in the workings of the world, many have reverted to the violence reminiscent of anarchist days and the Russian model. The attempt to formulate a group identity has been achieved by black militants. Addison Gayle's book, The Black Aesthetic[14] provides ample evidence that the Black community has an aesthetics that they can now call their own. Their task has been made easier than that of most other minority groups because historically they could point to freedom fighters during their enslavement as well as to their own cultural developments. The struggle of women's liberation has been much more difficult; however, Linda Nochlin[15] and Elaine Showalter's study of women's literature,[16] and Eleanor Tufts'[17] study of women artists, are a re-covery of their forgotten heritage.

Pushed to the extreme, a violent praxiology leads to such performance art pieces as those of the Symbionese Liberation Army, wherein the "food sequence" mobilized the entire San Francisco Police Department, millions of Hearst dollars, several charity organizations, food wholesalers and the needy sub-groups.[18] In the performance art of violent praxis, the artist is very vulnerable. Risk becomes the new value. The act of risking the body or one's civil rights becomes part of the work. Chris Burden regularly endangers himself physically and legally. Schwarzkogler mutilated himself sexually until he died. Schafrazi defaced Picasso's Guernica, while modern "rituals" are performed to sensitize people to the barbarism of their existence. Punk Rock is yet another expression of this destructive praxis.

Invoked life. The Utopian praxiological aesthetic sensibility was developed by members of the New Left, who built upon the ontotheological stream of phenomenology. Earlier, C. Wright Mills and Roger Gaurady and today Zigmundt Bauman carry on this "revisionist" trend. Artists working in this manner follow the aesthetic theories developed by Daniel Bell.[19] The Artist's Placement Group (APG) works within industry,[20] improving work places by studying the social and physical codes. Artistic value is given a quantifiable number derived from the amount of days or the amount of people the art solution affects. Steve Willats'[21] work in the communities also embodies this thrust. Significantly, this group by employing a structuralist-functionalist epistemology has developed the notion of multi-logue and consensus as opposed to dialogue and universal pragmatics. They stress invocation as opposed to provocation.

Revoked life. Adorno, Horkheimer and Benjamin re-present a Skeptical development of an aesthetic praxiological sensibility. Aesthetics, for the Frankfurt School, was not wedded to politics in the sense of action. They interpreted reflection as potential praxis, displayed this political foundation but remained at the level of dialogue. They failed to incorporate multi-logue and consensus, the achievement of Utopian praxiological, aesthetic consciousness.

There are a few artists working in this capacity today. Joseph Beuys'[22] performance pieces attempt to display man's relationship with animals; Klaus Staeck[23] uses a "factography" technique which displays the use of symbolism in a repressed society, as does John Stezaker; John Miles[24] explores "white slavery;" Paul Wombell juxtaposes costumes of social position and Hans Haacke[25] uses questionnaires, statistical results and participant observation techniques to display the bureaucratization of the art gallery or the ownership of the environment. Jean-Luc Godard is but one example of many involved in making a political statement through film.

Clearly, there are aspects of these three approaches which could find no place in formal art education programmes. The most productive directions are probably those which attempt to make children sensitive to emic differentiations amonst community groups, ethnic minorities and non-western cultures. Such programmes are more likely to be found in social studies curricula than in the art classroom.

Footnotes - Chapter Six

[1] In the sense in which "truth" for Apel is a complementarity and requires an application, see David Hoy, The Critical Circle, Literature, History and Philosophical Hermeneutics (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), pp. 107-117.

[2] Cheryl Bernstein, "Performance as News: Notes on an Intermedia Guerrilla Art Group," in Performance in Postmodern Culture, ed. M. Benamon and Charles Caramello (Madison, Wisconsin: Coda Press, 1977), pp. 79-86.

[3] L. Binswanger, Being-in-the-World (New York: Basic Books Inc., 1963).

[4] P. Freire, Education: The Practice of Freedom (London: Writers and Readers Pub. Cooperative, 1973).

[5] Antonio Gramsci, Selections from Prison Notebooks (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1971), pp. 3-5.

[6] M. Dufrenne, The Phenomenology of Aesthetic Experience (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1973), pg. 376.

[7] Henri Zerner, "Alois Riegl: Art, Value and Historicism," Daedalus 105(1), 1975, pp. 177-188.

[8] W. Worringer, Form in the Gothic (London: G. P. Putnam's Sons Ltd., 1927, 1964).

[9] David Wilkinson, "Malraux: Revolutionist and Minister," Journal of Contemporary History, Vol. 1, 1966.

[10] As discussed by A. Toffler in a television discussion with Dick Cavett regarding his new book.

[11] Buckminister Fuller, The Buckminister Fuller Reader, ed. James Meller (London: Jonathan Cape, 1970).

[12] See Harold Rosenberg, The Anxious Object (New York: Collier Books, 1966).

[13] A. Kaprow, "The Education of the Un-Artist, Part I," in New Ideas in Art Education, ed. G. Battcock (New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., Inc., 1973), pp. 86-87.

[14] A. Gayle, The Black Aesthetic (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1971).

[15] Thomas Hess and Elizabeth C. Baker, Art and Sexual Politics (New York: MacMillan Publishing Co. Inc., 1978).

[16] Elaine Showalter, A Literature of Their Own: British Women Novelists from Bronte to Lessing (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1977).

[17] E. Tufts, Our Hidden Heritage, Five Centuries of Women Artists (New York: Paddington Press, 1979).

[18] C. Bernstein, "Performance as News: Notes on an Intermedia Guerrilla Art Group," in Performance in Postmodern Culture, pp. 79-86.

[19] Daniel Bell, The Cultural Contradictions of Capitalism (London: Heinemann, 1979).

[20] Z. Bauman, Hermeneutics and Social Science (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978), and Culture as Praxis (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973).

[21] John A. Walker, "APG: The Individual and the Organization," Studio International 191(980) (March/April 1976):162-172.

[22] See S. Willats, "The Perivale Project," and "From a Coded World," in Art for Whom? (Sue Grayson, Serpentine Gallery Organizer, April 1978).

[23] C. Tisdall, "Jimmy Boyle, Joseph Beuys: A Dialogue," Studio International 191(980), 1976, pp. 144-146.

[24] "Klaus Staeck: Interview," Studio International 191(980), 1976, pp. 137-140, and K. Coutts-Smith, "The Political Art of Klaus Staeck," Praxis 4, 1978, pp. 13-56.

[25] "The Pursuit by John Staezaker," Studio International 191(980) 1976, pp. 124-133. See also, Art for Society, Pamphlet by Whitechapel Art Gallery, London.

[26] Margaret Sheffield, "Hans Haacke: Interview," Studio International 191(980), 1976, pp. 117-123, and J. Burnham, Framed and Being Framed: 7 works, 1970-75 of Hans Haacke (Halifax: Press of the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design, 1975).

CHAPTER SEVEN

A Proposed Critical Existential Art Programme

In this chapter I wish to outline a visual arts programme which would meet the requirements of the problem stated in Chapter One, in light of what has been learnt from the historical interpretations and the last chapter's conclusions. Such a programme may be approached from the "visual literacy perspective:" that is, its starting point must be visual perception of the taken-for-granted world.

The programme I envisage is an attempt to expand a child's horizons from the personal level to family, peer groups, local, regional, national and international structures and hegemonic relationships. This expansion of horizons is premised on a parallel expansion in art history.[1] In the aristocratic context, the activity of art was a personal, if not a selfish and private expression. History paintings and portraiture glorified moments of the past. Romanticism changed the meaning of art. Art came to stand for imaginative and cultural skills. It came to signify a special kind of truth, "imaginative truth," and the artist became a special kind of person, a genius or purveyor of this truth. A professional "fine art" tradition arose which began to forge a national art style. This national visual tradition which expanded access to art through the mass sale of engravings was introducing a new economic and aesthetic base for image making. Sensitivity to new areas of experience was made available.

Satire, poverty, sexuality, work, oppression, criminality, cruelty and politicking, formerly not part of the aristocratic world-view, were introduced. The world outlook of a nation's society in its totality was represented through the imagination. National Academies, museums and professional institutions rejected what had become an evolutionary approach. The supersession of the competitive entrepreneurial monopoly capitalists extended the artistic horizon to an inter-national scale. Detrimentally, advertising introduced an instrumentalist art education; however, artists who refused co-option became sensitized to other cultures. Primitivism, children's art and amateurism were accepted by artistic movements which shunned the market place. Today the Post-Industrial welfare society is pervaded by the hegemony of capitalist and socialist power blocks. The Cold War and now the conditions of détente have introduced a political dimension into the arts. State support of the arts through the Arts Council continues to promote the ideology that the "free world" artists produce works of great beauty and imaginative growth, whereas Soviet "Socialist Realists" produce hollow, banal artificial art.

The widening of horizons has introduced more value-inclusive art forms. The world-outlook of a class which expands the current horizons of art is deemed progressive because it encompasses and transcends previous aesthetic sensibilities. Decadence prevails when institutional practices and artistic intellectuals are allowed to reproduce an art form which has long since lost its social function and has been reduced to a marginal position in a society. Fine art in the post-industrial period is in such a state of decadence. This dilemma is not evident in the advertising arts. No contradiction exists between the skills needed and an art education that meets the requirements of this industry. "Fine arts," on the other hand, when introduced in school arts, are perceived as unteachable subjects.[2] The programme which meets the challenge of such a commotion includes three developmental phases, each of which is propaedeutic towards the next phase. The programme will be discussed below.

Phase I: Lived Time

Rationale

Phase I attempts to recover the progressive developments of the bourgeoisie. It has three moments which correspond to and attempt to incorporate three positive results achieved by this class as it ascended to power.

The haute bourgeoisie achieved a personal self. They developed an awareness of the physical body and its orientation in three dimensional space. The rationalism of Reynolds, Roger de Piles, and Poussin attempted to introduce analytic and deductive rules of reasoning and verifiability which could be tested through measurement. The historical novel and historical paintings were researched for accuracy of detail. Techniques of imitation were elaborated. At the level of physical description this aesthetic sensibility should be retained. Many preliminary art activities lend themselves to such treatment. The physical exploration of various materials, colors, shapes, textures, volumes, rhythms, movements produces objective knowledge about their mass, elasticity, density, chemical and electrical properties. Exercises in reproduction, repetition, imitation may provide verifiable knowledge about what materials can or cannot do, what colors do and do not do. The temporality of this moment is the present.

The Romantics introduced the imagination, experience, the element of play and emotion. Empathy with the past and the idea that man is a part of Nature were some of their major achievements. They developed a sense of social worth, and the right to maintain an independent opinion. Purely emotive experiences, fantasy and mystical or psychic reactions were acceptable experiential data. A stress on classification of physiognomic properties was considered desirable.

These kinds of achievements also need to be incorporated as a moment of Phase I. The time character becomes the past because memory recall which attends to important experiences of one's past being, becomes central to the communication of dreams, or to projecting oneself into fictional worlds, or to voicing an opinion on subjects one feels strongly about, or to recalling a particularly important and cherished event. Art activities which attempt to develop a sense of self-worth rely on the imaginative capabilities of children. Perceptions of a similar event may be different, yet as acceptable as someone else's. Emotions such as joy, sadness, fear, happiness, being "blue," anger, sublimity, melancholia can be communicated through various materials, in uses of line, color, rhythm which begin to take on personal meanings.

A more dynamic approach was introduced by the Impressionists who, through their serial paintings, developed a heuristic model of art production which recognized variables and the entire range of variation of a particular phenomenon. This introduced validity as the new criterion of truth. The thinking cogito was minimally rational. The stress was on an effected self. Their achievement can be introduced into the activities of the art classroom through a discussion of completed works which bring out the similarities and differences between the different etic positions in the classroom. Quantity into quality means the implementation of a particular choice and that choice requires a contextual analysis of an if...then situation. Left in this state, the art curriculum is a positivist one. Subject and object, fact and value remain separate. There is no critical stance taken. An instrumentalism pervades the artistic activity.

The existential "project" or categorical imperative (in Heidegger's sense *es geht um*; it is at stake) of Phase I begins with *invocation*. Invocation refers to a "petition for help" which is to say, to bring about a sensitization to our human condition. It refers to the uncovering of the humanity *in us* through the aesthetic object which has meaning for us. This involves perception on three levels: presence, re-presence or representation, and lastly, feeling. The horizon of *invocation* is the classroom setting. "Truth" experiences of the human condition are experienced *in* the final level, providing a springboard for Phase II.

Naive perception of the pseudo-concrete: body presence (ego or Leib) and monologue. Human beings exist in-the-world and as such, that world has a certain immediacy for them. Interactions and object have practical meanings for them. The experience of presence is the fundamental ground for all levels of experience. It is the preconceptual level of experience achieved through the corporeal *a priori*.[3] Signification is experienced by the body at this mundane level of existence. Objects "speak"[4] to the body at a pre-conscious level but do not elicit an act of intelligence. It is a subject-object totality in which the subject and the object are not yet distinguishable. Aesthetic experience of presence is perceived at the "surface," that is, the sensuous level (i.e., color, hue, texture, sound, figure/ground). The sensuous is a relation of the a priori of the object and the a priori of the subject; it exists in the interaction between subject and object. In itself, the art-object is only a mass of possibilities; a potentiality for viewing. It must be activated as a formed whole. Intentionality, minimally at the body a priori, is required, otherwise the work becomes nothing;[5] it returns to the ontic status of a thing.

We can make the body a priori visible on the empirical level through simple exercises of reflection and verification. Movement through space by one's own body will begin to change the relationships between figure and ground, size, distance and texture, intensity of hue. If one moves the head above, below, up or down, different angles are made visible.[6] If a man is on foot, in a car, on a horse, in an airplane or underwater, body experience will provide different interrelationships with his world. However, certain angles, poses, figure and ground relationships may have meanings which are comprehended immediately. These are aesthetic experiences which may be elaborated on because they demand our gaze. Film is one example.[7] Likewise, a framed picture is already a separated part of experience from its context and therefore presents a preliminary reduction of experience.

Penetrating the pseudo-concrete: re-presence or mind(emotion) dialogue. In order to clarify the originary aesthetic object which commands our attention, it is necessary to take a detour through the imagination to the work. To attain a self-consciousness towards the work we move from the general, its presence, to the particular or one's own conscious perceptions or animation of the art-object through the transcendental imagination. One must actively constitute or recompose the work. Such re-ordering or re-presenting can be done at the level of understanding, below the level of consciousness as a consciousness-in-itself. Aesthetic perception left in this state has no reference other than itself. Consciousness has to become for-itself to make a distinction between the subject and object. Distance (spacial and temporal) is created by the imagination before meaning can occur. The artwork then "speaks" to the viewer.

For consciousness to become self-conscious, it must be recognized as a self through another consciousness. If the artwork "speaks" (i.e., has meaning) it is because the viewer's own historicity (Dasein) responds to the world of the work. This intuited dimension Gadamer has characterized as presuppositions, prejudgments (Vorverstandnis) and prejudices (Vorurteil)which form the individual's existential self-hood. It enables a "dialogue" to occur between the work and self. This is an I-thou relationship.[8] The "world of the work" (affective existential a priori) is grasped by the viewer. The work speaks to him as a subject, or "Other" which animates him as a self-conscious subject. This I-thou relationship is a shared world made possible through the "sympathetic" transcendental a priori of imagination. Experience of feeling goes beyond the empirical imagination which produces the knowledge of a sign. Existential affective *a priori* is at the symbolic level. "Dialogue" is created between the world of the work (its interiority or ability to "speak") or objective affective *a priori* and the affective subjective *a priori* of the viewer. Affective categories like tragedy, comedy, pathos and serenity are comprehended. Comprehension becomes the communion of one's tacit dimension and textural present. The tacit or intuitive dimension anticipates or projects the meaning of the work. One always comprehends the artwork at the highest possible level; this comprehension is the dialectical movement of the hermeneutic circle. The whole must be understood from the part and the part from the whole. In this way a certain "openness" is maintained.

Articulation of feeling: interpretation multi-logue. Biographical interpretation of the "world of the work," an essential starting point, is however, limited by the horizon of one's self-hood. It certainly provides for what has been termed, an "I and Me" experience, a strong personalism, but this remains at a very egotistical level. To articulate what is essentially an interior dialogue, requires exteriorization through interactions with others, what can be called a multiplicity of horizons.

When reasons are given for particular interpretations which all appear equally valid, a levelling occurs. Self-consciousness, which is "open" when the work is experienced, becomes closed; for one must provide reasons for one interpretation as against that of others. Self-consciousness is now a "seeing" consciousness and a "seen consciousness" in the speech-act. As such, an asymmetry is created between the intuitive self and its intention. The existential *a priori* categories remain hidden. If there is wide agreement upon the meaning of the existential *a priori* of the work, one can assume that a very narrow horizon of meanings, hence a strong egocentrism, exists in the classroom. There is very little levelling of ego since the same values, interest and beliefs are reinforced. Such "in group" thinking produces little or no *critical* reflection. It is the co-consciousness of palaeolithic times. There is no way to make an affective value judgment which will distinguish a viewer who appreciates the beauty of a lamp made from human skin, from that of a viewer who throws a flower into a pool of oil. There can be no minimal articulation of feelings, little sensitivity towards the world and little notion of "self." Master-Slave relationships define this situation. There is no way of determining "Slave consciousness."

If, however, a situation is created in which there are several defensible positions, one can begin to uncover the practical world that supports the affective value judgments, beliefs and ethics that go along with a particular being-in-the-world. Even the acknowledgment of the existence of opposites brings antithetical value stances, and an expansion of horizons. The Master must recognize the Slave as non-Slave. If *paradox*, *ambiguity* or *antinomy* cannot be reached through an artistic activity or through some form of exteriorization like *talking* or *writing* about the artwork, then no further learning can take place.

It seems evident that any art activity would begin with the attempt at establishing one's self-identity. It is impossible to really understand anybody else until you begin to understand who you are. The identification of differences through individual and group discussions about finished projects becomes essential. Family and peer groups would provide the material for projects which begin to examine personal history and sensitize children to how they perceive themselves. This would be the starting place for the development of a sense of community wherein paradox, ambiguity or antinomy can be tolerated and examined.

Slide shows of children's life-worlds provide an example of a starting place to see differences. To help expose the discrepancies that exist between children's socialized images of themselves and how other people tend to see them, a slide show can be put together which presents insights about each class member. A slide collection is built up of the individual children in various moods and social relations. These could include: spontaneous shots; children holding up pictures of how they would like to look; forward and backward projections of their lives, how they think they might look when old, as adults; make-up sessions; photographs of girlfriend/boyfriend faces; school and family faces, each with differing standards of behavior and dress, representing roles they are forced to accept; mock advertisements and role reversal advertisements; realistic treatment of products (e.g., alcohol or cigarettes) and acted out consequences; pictures of group visits; pictures of the children in playgrounds and streets. A visual presentation is provided and a discussion presented to break down the culture of silence.

Identity scrapbooks also provide us with another example to achieve self-identity. Each person can make a poster about themselves with their pictures on it with pertinent personal details or write a piece of narrative about something they feel very strongly about that affects them. The room can then be decorated with these works to personalize their space. Full-length portraits can be put along the walls.

Personal spaces are important for one's identification as a human being. Questions of what are examples of personal spaces and how one feels when occupying them can be raised. Children can be asked to construct their own spaces; e.g., construction of personal boxes containing personal items. This can be carried out to gain an image of the community in the classroom by rearranging boxes on a mural that corresponds to where they sit. The awareness of friendships and social distances which they keep can be pointed to.

Phase II: Re-Lived Time

Rationale

Phase II attempts to recover the progressive achievements of the petite bourgeoisie. To arrive at paradox is to incorporate the achievements of the Expressionists who, unlike the Impressionists, did not separate fact from value. The notion of an affected self was a more active concept than the Impressionists' effected self. Paradox was created when one could, by taking a new posture, perceive a number of different views of the same phenomenon. The Expressionists, by attending to each other's works and to the works of other cultures, tried to comprehend another's "language game." They tried to develop a "communal self" and to forge a personal emic that could be shared amongst their group. Anyone who learnt their "language" was welcomed. A feeling was abstracted so that it could have a wider communicative power. In the Kantian sense, noumena and phenomena were still separated. Artistic knowledge was asymptotic. By pooling each other's life experiences they searched for the "essences" of things. Abstraction became their artistic generalization. By claiming that the group had knowledge of all the possible etics, they could then abstract their own emic.

To go beyond the positivism reached in Phase I, is to confront the consensus of views and values reached by the group with new and opposite values achieved by other societies and other artists. A juxtapositioning technique, which relies on examples may be used. Examples of such procedures would include the social meanings attached to colors in different countries. In Japan, for instance, green means stop, and white is a sign of mourning. A confrontation with the visual ways the aged in another culture have been presented, and how a particular emotion, like arrogance is presented in Greek and Egyptian portraiture, begins to open up horizons which are beyond personal biographies and beyond the group concerns. The phenomenological meaning of "arrogance" begins to be reworked dialectically through the hermeneutic circle.

The achievement of the Symbolists and other Post-Impressionists was their ability to develop a "protective shell" against co-option into the advertising industry. They forged a strong will and strong conviction, a character formation which allowed them to maintain their identity. This more critical aspect attempts to make the students aware of how other segments of society are expected to act. The image that the culture shapers project is questioned. The existential "project" of Phase II begins with re-vocation.

Re-vocation refers to "an act of revoking" or a negation. The previous phase of the art programme would have uncovered the foundation of affective values shared by particular individuals or groups; their affective responses towards let us say, a film or an artifact they may have made,the school building they live in, their own personal spaces or a pot they have made would have been recorded. Reasons would have been given and a self-identity assumed; maybe even a group consensus regarding a particular affective dimension would have been reached. The intent of Phase II is to try to interpenetrate the genesis of these views that have been brought into the classroom. How or why do we respond as we do? We want to become cognizant of the visual codes we respond to and to question our beliefs to "see" whether our "truth" is indeed the right truth. Or can our comprehension of the human condition be extended? To what extent can a paradox be maintained? In Phase II we can expand on these questions and continue to achieve a sense of community as we build up a class biography. Three more levels may be introduced in an attempt to examine our ambiguities against the functioning of the everyday world which helps in shaping our perceptions. Our perceptions should be referenced against the visual reality outside the classroom and if possible should include other cultural emics.

Solution: real time. Solution refers to that part in our programme where we try to make sense of the discrepancy which exists between the children's own culture, history, language and social customs that they respect and are revealed in Phase I, as against those projected and communicated in the real world by adults and by a powerful technocratic élite who control the media. We call this step solution because it refers to the visual codes and messages in the real world that children experience daily. The discrepancy of their needs and social interests in relation to the needs and interests of the media industry should be pointed out.

Children's culture is oppressed by sexism (patriarchy), class (capitalism) and race (imperialism) and stereotyping subtly helps to reinforce childrens' commonsense understanding of what is normal and real, ethical and political. "Innocent" comic books like Walt Disney's Donald Duck[9] perpetuate Imperialism (i.e., The Ducks are in Vietnam or Chile) and propagandize the American Dream as Life did during the Depression. Conflict never has a social base but is conceived in terms of good versus bad, lucky versus unlucky, and intelligent versus stupid. Gullible natives are continually being sold rubbish. Donald never works but is continually scheming, seeking leisure disguised as fantasy. Scrooge needs no introduction. The cartoon medium, when used in conjuction with images from children's picture books and comics, provides a useful way of introducing the concepts of stereotyping, bias and visual coding. They act as a springboard for the analysis of photography and film.

To see the "world" presented by the photograph, which is often said to be innocent, can be approached through recapitulating its production. This could include: 1) the consciousness of the photographer; 2) production in the darkroom (i.e., cropping and manipulation of image); 3) the editorial process of choosing from a range of photos; 4) the juxtaposition of different pictures in a layout; 5) the additions of text; 6) the context of its appearance (i.e., government handout, company reports, political leaflets). Similarly, the context for its use raises other questions: 1) What group is it aimed at? 2) Is it for public or private consumption? 3) Is it distributed through mass media or other channels? 4) Is it aimed at a particular social group or class? 5) Is it free, inexpensive, exclusive? 6) What is the larger system it is tied up with? 7) What may be the vested interest? 8) What groups are excluded from the message?

Class, sex, age and race stereotyping become distinct when juxtaposed against pictures taken of "savages," and barbarians around the turn of the century. Magazines, newspapers and leaflets provide ample evidence for stereotyping jobs, women, men, family, children, babies, love, sex, Blacks. These "norms" can be classified and societal expectations can be identified. In the case of women's magazines, their entire expected stages of life can be traced from girfriend through motherhood and even to divorced swinging single. Similarly, one can collect an array of dress and costumes that are used for particular occasions. An array of chairs, doors of various houses, bank designs, office buildings and any other institutions' visual symbolic display may be grouped and "normalized." One might investigate existential categories such as "love," "poverty," "fear," "dread," "anguish," "aloneness," "choice," "death," to see how they have been presented through the media.

Re-solution: analytical projects. Once stereotyping has been identified in visual materials, a counter-reality should be introduced to negate and hence, to clarify the "truth" of what we have uncovered. Political and ethical questions cannot be avoided. Play-signs used by the media are not merely information units to be classified. Their reference is 180°. They demand that the observer observe himself and provoke him in a political and ethical way. Comparisons of different cultures, from different periods, oppositions between stereotypes and "real" people, inversions of class, sex, race which introduce role reversals, provide ways to negate and introduce a counter-reality. Montage effects are a good way of doing this. Juxtapositioning, captioning, partial montage (i.e., a story line), montage, collage are ways of destroying media reality. Anti-art can be created by starting with children's artworks, drawings, writings, which are combined in the above ways to re-solve reality. The juxtaposing of self-portraits or portraits of friends and family against idealizations presented by the media provide the stark contrasts necessary for discussions.

Other ways for children to negate this reality is to introduce art and literature from other cultures which would provide an ever-widening horizon of what defines a female or male role or how existential categories like death, fear, anguish are handled. One could construct a narrative from advertisements to show the perfect lifestyle for a man, woman, profession, or child, as a group sees it. One could make a comparison historically of how this has changed and why. One could also make a poster with all the symbols of power associated with certain professions and see how these have changed historically.

Dis-solution. Dis-solution refers to the disintegration, undoing or fading away of the "inauthentic" view presented by mass media. Comparisons between artists who have dealt with notions of "sickness," "pain," "violence," "glamor," "winning," "competition," and media presentations of hospital life, a trucker's life, the detective, hero and game show values could continue to clarity authentic and inauthentic human life situations.

The study of minority groups who have had to deal with stereotyped images provides helpful insights. There are many women, Black and Chicano artists at work forging their own identity. Many women artists have increased our sensitivity to what it means to be treated like a thing; others have made us more sensitive to household slavery and the pains and pleasures of birth. Cruelty and male domination have entered our consciousness. This is also true of the Black Community who have worked out a symbol system of their own. Magazines like Ebony provide insights into the Black image. The study of a motor-bike culture, the use of body, clothes, social interaction, functional and expressive artifacts and how they are used to express and confirm and resonate a whole culture provide further examples.

Hopefully, by the end of Phase II, with the continued "suspension of belief" a greater articulation of their feelings towards themselves and their world will have been accomplished. Their values, beliefs, needs as a community, will have been clarified.

Phase III: Poesis

Rationalé

Phase III is an attempt to recover the proletarian achievements of the Surrealists, Dadaists and present day artists working in the Marxist humanist tradition by appropriating and building upon such ethological thinkers as the vitalists and structural-functionalists who have worked within an evolutionary metaphor and who have incorporated the notion of praxis.

Hegel had introduced the notion of aufhebung, the claim that history was a transcendent process. Through Reason man could choose what was rational and only the rational was real. Alienation was defined as prevention from the totality of possibilities. Hegel had had a generic model of process. He could posit Absolute Reason as the telos of history, hence transcending Kant's distinction between the noumenal and phenomenal worlds.

From this generic notion of change, an evolutionary view developed which was able to harness the environment. This open-ended view of change overcame the dichotomy between theory and practice, fact and value. The resultant unity (praxis) was interpreted as a feedback loop by the structural-functionalists. Such artists as Delaunay, Kandinsky, Gabo, Wright, Klee searched for the deep structure of the artistic "language," developing an instrumentalist theory of truth. The quality of design was defined by such values as the structure's staying-power, constancy and equilibrium. For McLuhan and Morse Peckham, art was a form of social navigation and survival. Marxist structuralists adopted this systems approach.

Artists of the New Left have tried to build upon the insights into design achieved by these structuralists. They attempt to make their audience sensitive to the unconscious structuring of their visual environment. Praxis is characterized by an ethical and political concern, the intent of which is pervaded by practical wisdom (phronesis). A hermeneutic understanding is striven for. By examining a tradition and uncovering the genesis of its movement, a political and ethical judgment is made about its effect in the present and its potential modification for the future. Status, scarcity, power relationships, ethical consequences of existing designs, social stratification and visual dominance, sensitization to invisible groups like the aged, ethnic communities and to the non-human strata, our environment become major issues of Phase III. Its beginnings are in evocation.

Evocation means bringing something to life; it is an attempt to meet one's needs by creating an emic of one's own. The intents of Phase I and II were to gain a sense of identity and greater sensitivity to their existence. Media study was to sensitize them to the powerful conditioning of technocratic society. Finally, some insights were to be gained as to how other minority and sub-cultures have retained an emic perspective of their own. Phase I stressed the individual and hence, the family and peer group background; Phase II brought more inclusive social dimensions through cultural artifacts that children would deal with. A move to the outside world where children can begin looking at "reality" with a more critical eye, now becomes crucial. Space and size relationships can be studied; human feelings about work spaces can be gathered through tape recordings; symbols can be photographed and life patterns can be documented. An audio-visual presentation about how the real visual world "feels" to the group exploring a particular facet of the human dimension juxtaposed by another group attempts to present an opposite view. This last phase can be explained through a documentary approach which aims at the class as a community re-constructing, pooling and sharing their perceptions of the visual and communal world they live in; questioning how it may be changed for the better. Understandably, the last phase becomes more complicated than the other two. The teacher's role is much more of a catalyst and an active participant in these activities. These last projects involve documentary groups and involve a further three levels.

Documentation and investigation. Documentation and investigation refers to gathering material from the community which will provide comparisons between two or more different neighborhoods, two or more different institutions and two or more different sub-cultures.[10] The investigation of a city block, a public building (i.e., Church, bank, shopping center, pet stores), a poor district, skid-row, a middle class neightborhood, can be carried out by recording interaction patterns, tape-recording conversations and photographing the imagery and embellishments that define these human environments. Maps of suburban streets or down town streets provide other kinds of information. Percentage of private to public spaces, asphalt to building ratios, and percentage of automobile parking to living spaces can be discovered. Intensity of artificial illumination at various places during the day, population densities and activity patterns, physiognomic descriptions of space between buildings, in squares and in passageways to hotel entrances provide other information. Size comparisons between office buildings and between housing projects, a knowledge of landscape as well as the ratio of a building's front to side provide clues to the "architectural engineering" that the total design offers the public.

This kind of information, which may be extended, is then pooled by the various groups to make a model of what they have uncovered. Model building provides the take-off point for the next step.

Interpretation. At this level the groups try to answer the meanings of the relationships they have uncovered in their community, town or institution. Size of space tells us what? Amount of sunlight entering a building tells us what? Are there contradictions between the exchange of relationships that to go in the building and the way the building is arranged? What do the signs and symbols tell us about its character? Costumes tell us what about the inter-relations? Travelling by car at twenty through sixty kilometers per hour or travelling by foot uncovers what different kinds of phenomena?

Re-interpretation. Re-interpretation requires the introduction of history to see the genesis of change that has taken place in the institutions, interactions and visual symbolizations. Juxtaposing models of homes of different classes from different historical periods, or different spaces found in a historical analysis of transportation (i.e., first, second, third, working class coaches), provides one way of demystifying reality. Firestations, old age homes, bus depots, hospitals, police stations have a historical genesis which provides insights as to how the visual symbolizations, spaces, and costumes have changed as social attitudes towards minority groups or social services have changed. Historical comparisons of color use, space use and size of buildings could be made available. Old photographs could lead to an interpretation of how patients were treated and looked after.

Probably the best way to grasp how the human environment communicates its messages to us is by comparing a modern commercial strip to 1) an eastern bazaar, 2) a medieval street, 3) Main Street in a city, 4) Main Street of a frontier store front, 5) a shopping center. Groups could build models of these different community arrangements to bring out what were the affective qualities of life experiences created and why and how these particular arrangements existed.

Performance. Performance pieces[11] which actually change our humaneness should be the culmination of these three phases. However, in the current school set-up this may not be feasible. If possible however, documentation and interpretation could go on inside a school if for example, the schools as an institution is examined. This could involve staff and parents filling out questionaires as to how they feel a school should look and what should go on inside it. A display board could be presented which changed as new information about schools came in and discussions arose.

If a particular empty city space was being examined and a community solution for its use was developed, then the project could be sent to the city planning department and letters informing community members of its progress could be mailed every other day.

If children were examining societal responses to "old" age, then an installation (i.e., visual presentation through an exhibit), could be set up in an old age home and changed every other week as new relations were discovered about the meaning of "old age." Discussions could take place with the aged every other week to see whether the artwork had any meaning for them. An example is provided by David Cashman's work at Laycock School, wherein children were able to decorate the outside of the school building as well as create their own playground.[12]

Footnotes - Chapter Seven

[1] Cf. Jose Argüelles, The Transformative Vision: Reflections on the Nature and History of Human Expression (Berkeley, California: Shambhala, 1975).

[2] See, Anselm Strauss, "The Art School and Its Students: A Study and an Interpretation," in The Sociology of Art and Literature: A Reader, ed. M. C. Albrecht, J. H. Barnett and Mason Griff (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1976), pp. 145-158 and Peter Fuller, "Fine Art After Modernism," New Left Review (January-February, 1980) pp. 42-59.

[3] A priori is used as a noun throughout following the work of Mikel Dufrenne, The Phenomenology of Aesthetic Experience (Evanston: Northwestern Press, 1973).

[4] See, E. F. Kaelin, "Notes Toward an Understanding of Heidegger's Aesthetics," in Phenomenology and Existentialism, ed. Edward N. Lee and Maurice Mandelbaum (Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1967), pp. 59-92 and M. Heidegger, "The Origin of the Work of Art," in Philosophies of Art and Beauty, ed. Albert Hofstadter and Richard Kuhns (New York: The Modern Library, 1964), pp. 647-701.

[5] See, Maurice Natanson, Literature, Philosophy and the Social Sciences: Essays in Existentialism and Phenomenology (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1962), Chapter 7, "Toward a Phenomenology of the Aesthetic Object; Chapter 8, Phenomenology and Theory of Literature; Chapter 9, Existentialism and the Theory of Literature; and Chapter 10, Existential Categories in Contemporary Literature; pp. 79-130, Part II.

[6] See, R. N. MacGregor, Art Plus (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Ltd., 1977).

[7] See, George W. Linden, Reflections on the Screen (Belmont, California: Wadsworth Pub. Co. Inc., 1970).

[8] See, H. G. Gadamer, Truth and Method (London: Sheed and Ward, 1975), pp. 345-447.

[9] A. Dorfman and A. Mattelart, How to Read Donald Duck: Imperialist Ideology in the Disney Comic (New York: International General, 1975).

[10] See, R. Venturi, et al., Learning From Las Vegas (Mass.: MIT press, 1977], and J. M. N. Fishwick, ed., Popular Architecture (Bowling Green: Bowling Green Popular Press, 1974).

[11] See, Frank Popper, Art, Action and Participation (New York: New York University Press, 1975).

[12] See, Art For Whom? (Sue Grayson, Serpentine Gallery Organizer) April, 1978.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Speculations and Conclusions

This thesis concludes with a speculative attempt to comprehend historical artistic change in its most general sense. It should be understood that this is merely a re-evaluation of aesthetic theory, in light of what has been uncovered in the previous chapters. There is a danger that this attempt may fall into a Spenglerian or Hegelian view of cultural change, but it is worth that risk.

Dialectics of Concrete Reality

In any given socio-historical mode there are many contradictory and complementary consciousnesses whose interactions form the concrete reality that has been called in this thesis, *commotion*. Commotion is the excluded middle of actual class practices. In any interaction there are two contradictory and complementary consciousnesses which are characterized by a different action towards the real world. Critical consciousness is active and is characterized by modification (*aufgehoben*); its complement is passive and is characterized by mediation or accommodation (*aufhebung*).

The transformation of any given socio-historical mode can be identified by nomative dialectical stages which mark both qualitative and quantitative leaps of critical class consciousness in its struggle to achieve identity. In order to show its movement and (hopefully) not fall into a Hegelian organic metaphor, it is necessary to posit the end result (i.e., the transformation of a socio-historical mode), but not in its totality. We can never account for all the epiphenomena which are the result of a new synthesis, merely take note that a revolutionary transformation has occurred through the interpenetration of opposites and that this transformation is at a more value-inclusive level than the one before.

An outline of the movement of critical consciousness begins with the assumption that a former socio-historical commotion has produced a new element. As an epiphenomenon it is a not-being (i.e., not recognized as existing), therefore Nothing.

The Dialectics of Non-Being and Being (Metaphysics to Ontology) Nothingness to "Is"

As not-Being the thing is not considered as part of the Totality. Having not entered into the human consciousness it does not form part of that Consciousness. Although it exists it does not interact with Man. It is Nature, not Culture. As a created epiphenomenon it exerts no appreciable influence. This process is illustrated in Figure 3.

Not-Being achieves presence or identity when it is recognized by the Other. As soon as this happens a further complementary or dialectical relationship is established (i.e., each defines the other) but at the very lowest of levels. This is at the level of presence or "Body" which is a naive Consciousness of self and Other. This process is illustrated in Figure 4.

A glance or stare may serve to recognize the Other's presence. This is a preconceputal level of experience achieved through the corporeal *a priori* (i.e., body signification) but it is at the level of speech or conscious action. The subject-object totality is not distinguishable.

If there is interaction through the spoken word, then a re-presentation occurs. This becomes possible when both actors share the same taken-for-granted world. They understand one another at the deontological level. A level of feeling accompanies their interactions when there is an intuitive recognition of their existential *a priori*. A feeling of good-will and good-sense prevails. Action or practice occures through co-operation.

The above description of praxis is given at the ideal phenomenological level. It masks the contradiction between the ideal and real as well as the egocentricity that such "in group" thinking brings about. It represents but a brief moment of "openness" in the movement of critical consciousness. Yet, these movements from Body (presence) to Re-presentation and from Re-presentation to Feeling are the necessary conditions for the attainment of critical consciousness. They form three levelling moments in the Master-Slave dialectic. To show how, we must go back to the meeting of the "two bodies" or Beings.

Dialectics of Being and Non-Being: The Master-Slave Dialectic (Form is Content)

When there occurs a conscious recognition of the new created element from a previous synthesis (non-Being) as Being, then self-consciousness exists in itself (implicitly) and for itself (explicitly); this is to say, self-consciousness occurs through the Other; each defines the Other. Historically, at least since the Chalcolithic period, this relationship has been characterized by the Master-Slave dialectic. The slave has only presence. He is a "thing" or object, a non-Being (i.e., non-Master). The Master has Being or consciousness. "Form is content," characterizes this relationship at the level of Nature. Form and content are explained as a causal relationship. The Master is the subject; the slave is the predicate. He is but a reflection of the Master. He reproduces his identity of bondage and in doing so, preserves the Master's identity. He is thus alienated from his own consciousness, interactions and work. As a non-Being (thing or object) or mere Body, the Slave is the antithesis of the Master who creates the illusion that he is for the Other when in reality he is in and for himself. His state of Being is characterized by immediacy, egocentricity and the social interactions of monologue which reproduce reflected reality. As Master, he has "culture;" the Slave is recognized as having none; hence, a social climate of paternalism is created. "Being" for Others assures him a position of power which affords him the luxury of generosity.

The movement from "thing" to Consciousness in itself (i.e., from Body presence to Mind or re-presence) requires the Slave to recognize that he is a Slave. Recognizing that he is a Slave means recognizing who is the Master. When the Slave recognizes that he is a Slave, then the Master recognizes that he is Master. Nature is transcended and the battle of Wills begins. The "piercing" of Nature occurs on a violent or "bodily" level when the Slave does not meet the Master's standards or disobeys his word. Slave consciousness is provoked. At this level, there is an understanding or consciousness that the above identity really exists. What was intuited at the Natural level now becomes suddenly and violently the conscious reality. The Slave, in understanding that he is a non-Being different from the Master, recognizes the asymmetry which exists between what the Master claims as the Good of All (the ought) and the actuality of those claims which reveals a consciousness in-and-for-itself (i.e., self-interests). The asymmetry between what he thinks or claims for the Good of All (intentionality) and what he actually does, creates the first commotion which is the contradiction between the Master's thoughts and deeds.

For the Slave to recognize how he is alienated from his true being, he must move from understanding or apprehension of his plight to its self-conscious interpretation. This requires a movement from the understanding of a Slave mentality and the intuition of his personal interests to an ideological critique which will enable him to overcome his false consciousness as a Slave. This requires imagination. He must begin to build an identity for himself by imagining other ways of being-in-the-world which are different from the ones which currently define him. Imagination is the movement from the present, here and now (presence) towards the future, if and then (re-presence).

Re-presentation is Mind (self-consciousness). The Slave now has the capability to imagine or project a non-Slave mentality, to formulate different relationships.

To recapitulate: so far we have the Slave becoming conscious that he is a Slave (i.e., hence, transcending Nature). As a Slave he realizes that he is different from his Master, which is to say he intuits at the deontological level his own interests and these interests are not the Master's interests. This causes the first commotion which is the actual or real contradiction which exists between Slave and Master. This process is illustrated in Figure 5.

Commotion (1) represents the practice of "being" or the philosophy of the now; the actual, real contradictions which exist between Master and Slave as embodied in their interactions. Commotion (1) is the practice generated through the asymmetry between the "is" and the "ought." The "ought" is defined by a closed set of rules (epistemology) and mores and values (axiology). This is the Master's ontology, which he attempts to maintain as a stable world order by alienating the Other who does not live up to the definition of what it means to be "human." For the Slave to overcome the Master and in so doing define a more value-inclusive humaneness is the immanent telos or Becoming of a socio-historical mode. The second step is taken towards critical consciousness through an ideology critique which must begin at the level of Mind.

To penetrate the pseudo-concrete (taken-for-granted-world), to begin to see past the appearances, the Slave must attempt to distinguish between the Master's ideal interests, which he claims for all and the "real" or "hidden" interests which maintain the state of alienation. This critique is carried out by "organic" individuals who are awakened by feelings of injustice. Their character is formulated by a strong personalism. The movement is from an instinctual existence, where the Slave's existential a priori is defined as a mirror reflection of the Master, to a strong emotional response to his bondage (i.e., from passive laziness to an active consciousness). Such individuals are "heard" by the Masters; the "libertarian" climate begins to tighten. An interaction or exchange takes place which transcends their relationship from their identification as Slave-Master to an exchange of communication. It is the move of consciousness from a recognition of power relationships to an interaction between a self and Master. This creates a second commotion, the dialectics of temporality resulting in the asymmetry between words and deeds (i.e., speech). In the first commotion, at the level of understanding, the Slave intuited his own interests and needs. To attain these would be to overcome false consciousness. At the second level, self-consciousness interprets what was intuited or deontological in the first relationship. Through interaction he overcomes the alienation of his consciousness. He is heard. The Slave now knows his interests and needs and is motivated to have them met. The asymmetry of the second commotion is created between intention and intuition of Master and the intention and intuition of Slave. This results in false interaction or distorted communication.

Through these "brushes," self-liberated individuals begin to constitute and define a character of their own, at the level of

Body by dressing, or possibly eating differently, by scheduling themselves differently and by consciously adopting new ethical codes to live by. As a Being-for-itself they attempt to overcome their alienation of consciousness and interaction through their refusal to participate in the reproduction of a Slave mentality unless their needs and interests are met. Alienation still occurs at the level of objectification (work), for the Slave can only re-voke the world.

Form is modified content characterizes such thinking. Because they can interpret their situation and can project new possibilities, a greater relativity is introduced. They recognize that many variations are possible. Hence, the second levelling occurs. The perception of the Master changes. His stature is "cut-down." Their stable world begins to be shaken; the Master becomes self-conscious of his position. Form is mediated content characterizes his view. "Organic individuals" issue warnings, others leave and join the growing opposition while still others begin to rationalize their position of dominance.

In order to overcome total alienation, the Slave must be able to reproduce his own consciousness, relations and objectification. Only then does he become his own Master. For this to happen, a social self, or social consciousness must come into Being, a multi-logue of voices held together by a common feeling. Self-consciousness has to move to the level of Reason which makes explicit its own interests and needs. The critique of Reason moves from the particular to the general and from the general to the particular. This is to say too, that self-consciousness must comprehend the Master's ideology in order to provide for its negation. His ideology, which is a claim that represents Absolute truth, must be exposed as a particular egocentric interest when referenced against different states of consciousness. Hence, by uncovering the particular, self-consciousness dis-covers the contradictions between itself and Others, as well as the Master's ideological mask. This critique points to its own needs and the necessity of its freedom. At this point, a group consciousness or group emic stance is achieved. As a social self which has a well-defined position, it has a tradition. A process of development has occurred implying that a new definable existential a priori exists. The group can identify its past, define its present and point towards its future. An antinomy is created by the build-up of contradictions in and through Commotions One and Two which marked the stages of social conscious growth.

Dialectics of Becoming: The Struggle of Wills

A dominant class, existing in-and-for-itself, is unlikely to value change. Its aesthetics, usually highly refined, provide meaning for their existence. They reproduce the stable world order rather than presenting its challenge. On the other hand, the aesthetics of a rising group (counter-consciousness) who have forged their own anti-thetical view, are dynamic; their symbols have been created at great social expense. To challenge the dominant interest, their art must serve meanings for a different praxis. A paradox or antinomy results. This is a stage of mutual recognition wherein Master-Slave encounters a Slave-Master or as I see it, Form encounters Content.

Formalism appears to challenge sensualism. As ideal types, Sorokin[1] has called these "ideational" and "sensate." The commotion created by their struggle results in actual practices which are not either of one type or the other. If the struggle of wills results in violence, it appears that the resulting commotion is no guarantee that humanity is any further ahead. If a higher synthesis takes place, then a more value-inclusive position results. However, the results can produce an existential crisis wherein other groups with different art forms are not recognized (i.e., Not-Being). Theirs becomes the next struggle. Content is modified form seems to suggest a way of thinking which introduces a new openness in history; a moment when other group needs could be recognized. Content is Form appears as the negation of the Master-Slave relationship, a synthesis at a more value-inclusive level. This process is illustrated in Figure 6.

What we have pointed to so far appears as speculative and the exercise should be seen in this light. It represents an insight on how aesthetic achievements have been recovered by successive social transformations. In Greece, for example, Doric Pythagoreans presented an archaic synthesis. The Egyptian Ka or "spirit" which had received modified treatment by the Homeridai during the Age of Heroes, was analogous to Body. Their aesthetics were a forced synthesis of science and religion achieved through the cosmological concept of harmonia, the unity of many mixed elements or an agreement between disagreeing elements, no doubt a concept born through the conquest and unification of land during the archaic period.

The division between "Soul" and "Body," or in Nietzsche's terms, Dionysian and Apollonian, represents the struggle of the Ionic seafaring people challenging the landed Doric Nobility. Soul or Ka presented the more intuitive side of the equation. At the deep fixed level it had had its origins with the Egyptian pharaoh and then with the Heroes who had become the landed nobility.

The movement was for more and more "body" and less and less "soul," so that by the end of the Hellenistic period there was an existential crisis. The arts underwent this change. Tragedy, as a combination of dance, music and poetry began to get a different treatment as functionalism was introduced. Sophocles and Zeuxis introduced a view of man which claimed more functionality and with Aristophanes' comedies, presented the aristocracy "less than they are;" while Euripides' plays were paradoxical, claiming to present man "as they were."

The trium choreia (dance, music, poetry) was reshuffled. Music developed by the Pythagoreans was superseded by dance (according to Democritus) and then poetry (Sophocles). Prose or philosophy replaced poetry by Euripides and the Sophists. Finally, the visual arts were recognized by Gorgias who presented an existential view.

The two antagonists, Plato and Aristotle, presented opposite and opposing views of mimesis. Aristotle saw it as techne (human activity) while Plato saw it as leisure and contemplation (theoria). Intermediate positions held mimesis to be a mixture of contemplation and function. The Sophists presented the antinomy of the age; i.e., form versus content.

The Renaissance, which recovered Greek learning, presents the same array of positions. The Church, which had become the dynamic force during Rome's decline, stressing "soul," was challenged by the new functionalism of the bourgeoisie. The recovery appears complete by the end of Romanticism, as shown in Figure 7.

It appears likely that the commotion of Modernism recovered the existential crisis of the Hellenistic Age and Early Christianity. It was not until the early twentieth century that Aristotelian and Platonic aesthetics were abandoned for more dialectical pursuits. Recurrences have been plentiful enough to suggest that the whole process is spiral and transcendental. Yet change takes place at different speeds in different situations, making it difficult to comprehend, in the clear manner which positivists would like, which are the elements that are exercising the greatest influence upon a particular situation. It is even fair to say that those elements which initially seem important may, as the situation develops , give way to others initially hidden, but in the end having true significance for change. The speculations regarding the analysis of this process are presented in Figure 8.

Footnotes - Chapter Eight

[1] Pitirim Sorokin, Social and Cultural Dynamics (Boston: Porter Sargent Publisher, 1957).

FIGURE 1

Master/Slave Relationships

Social Relations	Exchange Value
Artist and Warlord	- Poets and bards are allowed to enter the court - Serve as propagandizers, e.g., Homer
Artist and Church	- Glorifier and illustrator of Church hierarchy - Given the status of genius, e.g., Michelangelo
Artist and King	- Illustrator of chivalric code, eroticizer - Court painter, e.g., Rubens
Artist and Bourgeoisie	- Engineer-artist, maker of war machinery, fortress architecture - Given equal status with literati, e.g., Leonardo

FIGURE 2

Egotistic Objectifications

Social Position	Art Form
Warlord	- The epic stresses his great deeds through heroic exploitation and evaluation of his biography - He is the center of the world; human nature is defined by him - Fortress or walled city is the expression of his power
Church	- Sacred objects, veneration of heroes such as saints, popes; manuscripts - History of founder (tradition) - Ostentation of the "temple of God" - Religious vestments
King and Nobility	- Sense of personal history through history paintings - Display of physical prowess - Portraiture of Royal Family, heraldry, genealogy - ostentation of state capital - Courtly clothes, jewels, rings - Allegory

FIGURE 3

Dialectics of Not-Being and Being

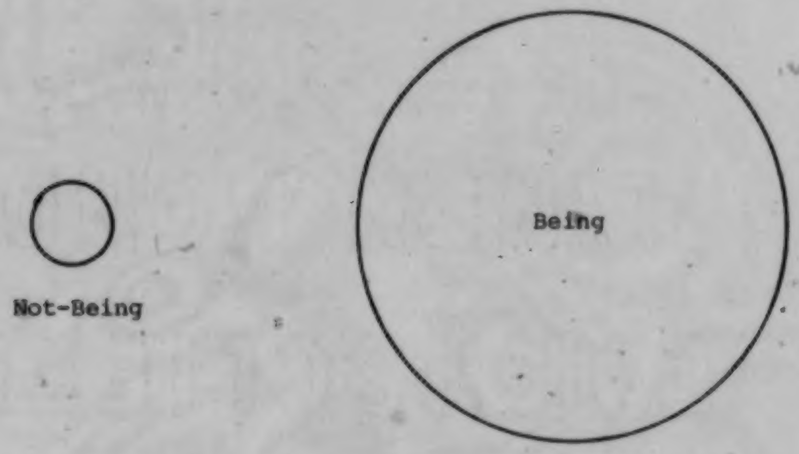

Not-Being
Being

FIGURE 4

Dialectics of Being

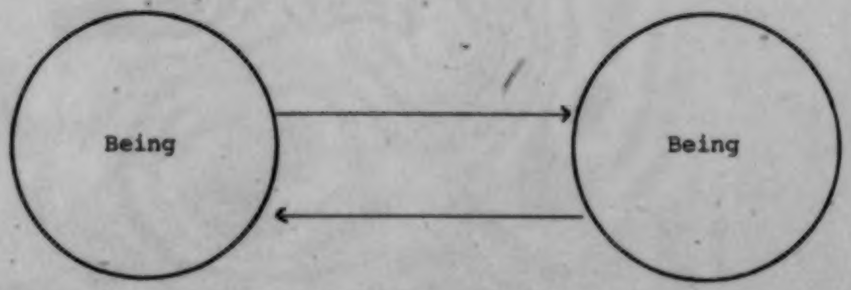
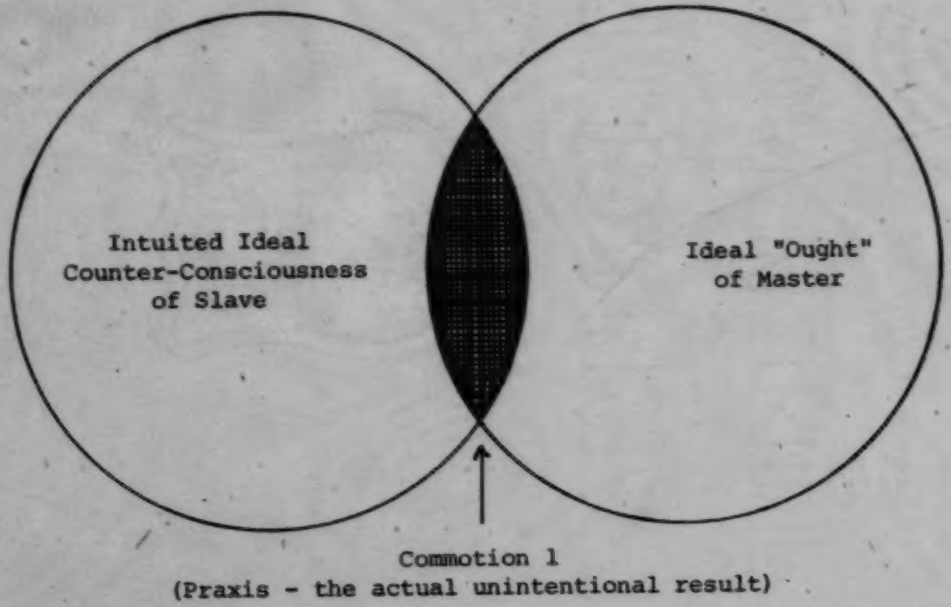

Being
Being

FIGURE 5

Commotion 1


Intuited Ideal
Counter-Consciousness
of Slave
Ideal "Ought"
of Master

Commotion 1
(Praxis - the actual unintentional result)

FIGURE 6

The Struggle of Wills

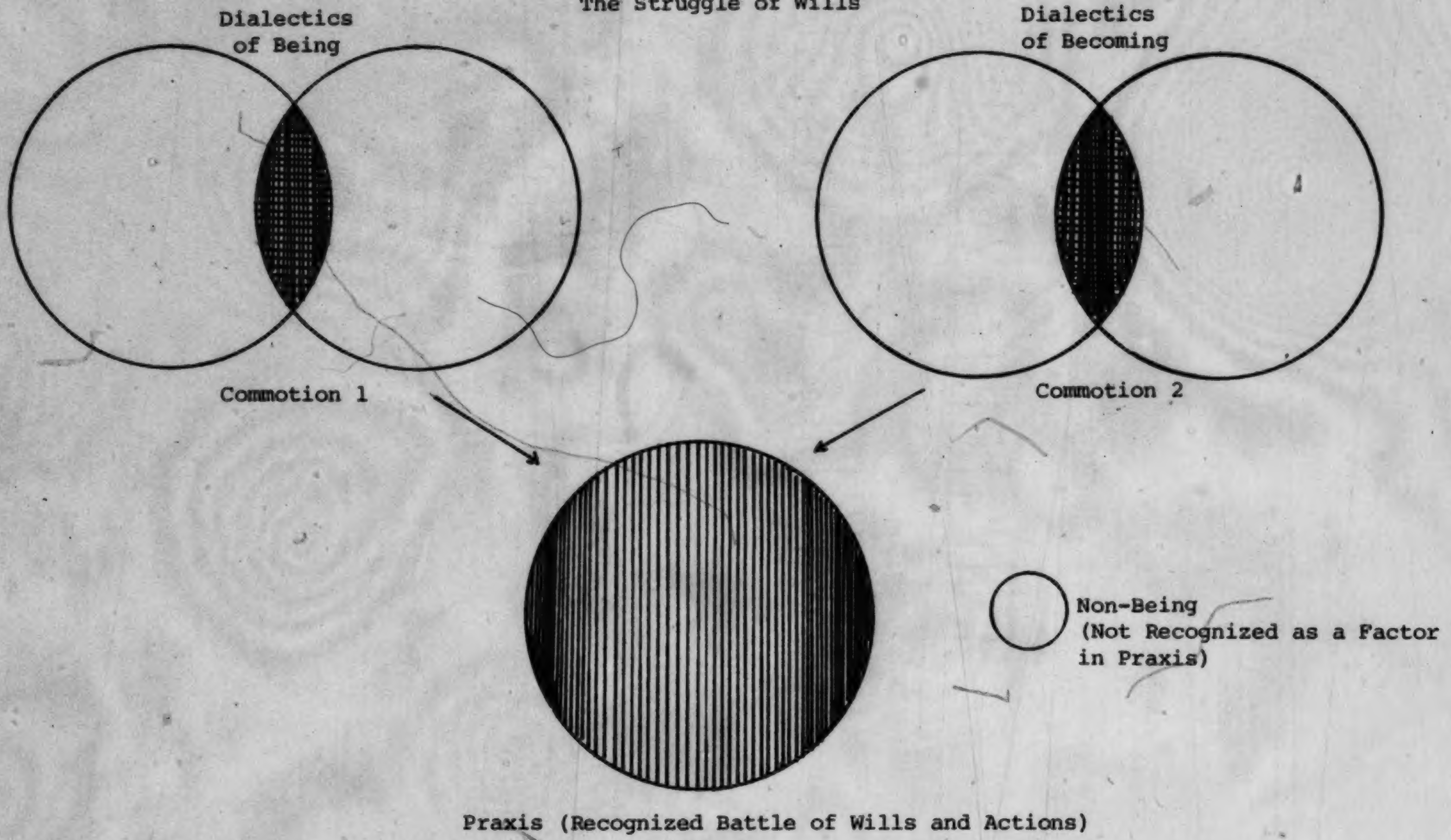

Dialectics
of Being
Dialectics
of Becoming
Commotion 1
Commotion 2
Non-Being
(Not Recognized as a Factor
in Praxis)
Praxis (Recognized Battle of Wills and Actions)

FIGURE 7

Recovery of Greek Aesthetic Positions

Greece	Renaissance	Art Form
Doric Pythagoreans	King	- Court manners (inherited) - Dance (harmonia)
Socrates	Church	- Moral utility
Gorgias	Nobility (Mannerism)	- Functionality
Vitruvius (a Roman but had recovered Greek visual arts)	Haute Bourgeoisie	- Knowledge of Rules (e.g. Alberti)
Sophists	Bourgeoisie (Flanders)	- Visual arts - Form versus content - Useful versus pleasurable, i.e., artist lives dual existence
Plato	Baroque Rationalism	- Stress on the triangle, square as perfect shapes
Democritus	Empiricists	- Prose (pure color)
Aristotle is once more recovered	Romanticism	- Poetry (imagination)

FIGURE 8

Summary of Speculations of Relations Between
Counter and Dominant Consciousness

Counter-Consciousness	Dominant Consciousness	Commotion (Variations as Listed)
Being-in-Itself (Content)	Being-in-and-for-Itself (Form is Content)	Not-Being (Closed)
Form is modified content	Form is mediated content	
Minor arts	Serious moralizing arts	Decorative or useless arts
Personalist Self	Narcissistic Self	Schizophrenic Self
Being-for-Itself	Being-in-and-for-Itself	
Socialism	Authoritarian State	Revolution
	Megalomanic Self	
Altruistic Self	Man is bad (Violence)	Man is Existential Self
Stoic self	Epicurean self	
Synthesis (open)	Transformed	
Democratic self		Skeptical Self
Content is Form		

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abel, Walter, The Collective Dream in Art. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957.

Abercombie, Niegel. Artists and Their Public. Villeneuve-Saint-George, France: The UNESCO Press, 1975.

Adams, K. "Orphism." In Concepts of Modern Art, pp. 88-95. Edited by Tony Richardson and Nikos Stangos. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd., 1974.

Adler, Judith. "Innovative Art and Obsolescent Artists." Social Research, Vol. 42, #21, 1975, pp. 390-410.

Adorno, Theodore. Prisms. London: Garden City Press, Ltd., 1967.

Albers, Josef. Interaction of Color. London: Yale University Press, 1963.

Alper, J. S. "Biological Determinism." Telos 5, 1977, pp. 164-167.

Althusser, Louis. For Marx. London: New Left Books, 1971.

Althusser, Louis and Balibar, E. Reading Capital. London: New Left Books, 1970.

Andrew, R. J. "The Displays of the Primates." In Evolutionary and Genetic Biology of the Primates, pp. 227-309. Edited by J. Buettner-Janusch. New York: Academic Press, 1963.

____________. "The Origins of Facial Expressions." Scientific American 213 (October 1965):88-94.

____________. "The Situations That Evoke Vocalization in Primates." Annals of the New York Academy of Science, Vol. 102, 1963, pp. 296-315.

Antal, Frederick. Classicism and Romanticism. New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1973, Icon Edition.

____________. Florentine Painting and Its Social Background. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1948.

____________. Fuseli Studies. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1956.

Antal, Frederick. *Hogarth and His Place in European Art*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1961.

Antonio, Carlo. "Review of Kindelberger's *World in Depression*." *Telos* 24 (Summer 1975):173-178.

Arato, A. "The Antinomies of the Neo-Marxian Theory of Culture." *International Journal of Sociology* 1 (Spring 1977):3-24.

Argüelles, José. *Charles Henry and the Formation of a Psychophysical Aesthetic*. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1972.

____________. *The Transformative Vision: Reflections on the Nature* and History of Human Expression. Berkeley, California: Shambhala, 1975.

Aron, R. *History and the Dialectic of Violence: An Analysis of Sartre's Critique de la Raison*. New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1975.

Aronowitz, Stanley. *False Promises: The Shaping of American Working Class*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1973.

Art for Society. Pamphlet by Whitechapel Art Gallery. London.

Arvon, Henri. *Marxist Esthetics*. London: Cornell University Press, 1973.

Aurier, Albert. "Essay on a New Method of Criticism." In *Theories of Modern Art: A Source Book by Artists and Critics*, pp. 87-93. Edited by Herschel Chipp. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975.

Barlach, E. "From a Notebook, 1906." In *Voices of German Expressionism*, pp. 91-93. Edited by V. Miesel. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1970.

Battcock, Gregory ed. *Super Realism*. New York: E. P. Dutton and Co. Inc., 1975.

Bauer, G. C., ed. *Bernini in Perspective*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1976.

Bauer, George H. *Sartre and the Artist*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1969.

Bauman, Z. *Culture as Praxis*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973.

____________. *Hermeneutics and Social Science*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1978.

Baxandall, Michael. Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy. Oxford: Claredon Press, 1972.

Beardsley, M. Aesthetics: Problems in Philosophy of Criticism. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World Inc., 1958.

Bell, Clive. Art. New York: Capricorn Books, 1958.

Bell, Daniel. The Cultural Contradictions of Capitalism. London: Heinemann, 1979.

Benjamin, W. Baudelaire: A Lyric Poet in the Era of High Capitalism. London: New Left Books, 1973.

___________. Illuminations. New York: Schocken Books, 1977.

___________. The Origin of German Tragic Drama. London: New Left Books, 1977.

___________. Understanding Brecht. London: New Left Books, 1977.

Bense, Moses. "The Projects of Generative Aesthetics." In Cybernetics, Art and Ideas. Edited by Jason Reichardt. Greenwich, Conn.: New York Graphic Society, 1971.

Berger, John. Success and Failure of Picasso. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd., 1965.

Bernstein, Basil. "On the Classification and Framing of Educational Knowledge." In Knowledge and Control, pp. 351-372. Edited by Michael F. D. Young. New York: Collier-MacMillan, 1971.

Bernstein, Cheryl. "Performance as News; Notes on an Intermedia Guerilla Art Group." In Performance in Postmodern Culture, pp. 79-86. Edited by Michel Benamon and Charles Caramello. Milwaukee: University of Wisconsin, Coda Press Inc., 1977.

Bickley, R. "Vygotsky's Contribution to a Dialectical materialist Psychology." Science and Society, Vol. XLI, #2, 1977, pp. 191-207.

Binswanger, L. Being-in-the-World. New York: Basic Books, 1963.

Blunt, Anthony. Artistic Theory in Italy 1450-1600. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1940.

Boccioni, Umberto. "Preface, First Exhibition of Futurist Sculpture." in Modern Artists on Art, pp. 49-51. Edited by Robert L. Herbert. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1964.

Bohannon, Paul. "Beauty and Scarification Amongst the Tiv." Man, No. 129, 1956, pp. 117-121.

Bough, David. "Althusser's Marxism." Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Alberta, 1976.

Braque, Georges. "Thoughts and Reflections on Art." In Theories of Modern Art, pp. 260-261. Edited by H. Chipp. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975.

Braverman, Harry. Labor and Monopoly Capitalism: The Degradation in the Twentieth Century. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1974.

Breines, Paul ed. Critical Interruptions, New Left Perspectives on Herbert Marcuse. New York: Herder and Herder, 1970.

Breuil, H. Forty Thousand Years of Rock Art: The Art of the Stone Age. London: Methuen, 1961.

Bronowski, J., and Mazlish, Bruce. The Western Intellectual Tradition. New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1975.

Brown, Milton. The Painting of the French Revolution. New York: 1938.

Bruins, T. Mutual Aid in the Arts from the Second Empire to Fin de Siècle. Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1972.

Burgin, Victor. "Socialist Formalism." Studio International, Vol. 191, #980, 1976, pp. 146-154.

Burke, E. The Sublime and Beautiful. London: George Bell and Sons, York Street, Convent Garden, 1889.

Burnham, Jack. Beyond Modern Sculpture. New York: G. Braziller Inc., 1968.

____________. Framed and Being Framed; 7 Works, 1970-75 of Hans Haacke. Halifax: Press of Nova Scotia College of Art and Design, 1975.

Burrow, J. W. Evolution and Society: A Study in Victorian Social Theory. London: Cambridge University Press, 1966.

Bystryn, Marcia. "The Production of Culture." Social Research (45)2, 1978, pp. 390-410.

Cahill, Holger. "American Resources in the Arts." In Art for the Millions, pp. 33-44. Edited by R. V. O'Conner. Greenwich, Conn.: New York Graphics Society, 1973.

Callinicos, Alex. Althusser's Marxism. London: Pluto Press, 1976.

Canaday, J. Baroque Painters. New York: W. W. Norton and Co. Inc., 1969.

Carpenter, Rhys. The Esthetic Basis of Greek Art. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1974.

Cassirer, Ernst. Essay on Man: An Introduction to a Philosophy of Human Culture. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974.

____________. The Philosophy of the Enlightenment. Boston: Beacon Press, 1966.

Cézanne, P. "Letters." In Theories of Modern Art: A Source Book by Artists and Critics, pp. 16-23. Edited by Herschel Chipp. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975.

Childe, Gordon. What Happened in History. Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England: Penguin Books Inc., 1972.

Chipp, Herschel. "Neo-Plasticism and Constructivism." In Theories of Modern Art, pp. 309-316. Edited by Herschel Chipp. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975.

Clark, K. The Gothic Revival: An Essay in the History of Taste. Trowbridge and Esher: Redwood Burn Limited, 1975.

Clark, T. The Absolute Bourgeois: Artists and Politics in France 1848-1851. London: Thames and Hudson, 1973.

____________. Image of the People: Gustave Courbet and 1848 Revolution. London: Thames and Hudson, 1973.

____________. The Meanings of Manet's Olympia." Reporter, No. 135, February 16, 1979.

Cooper, D. Psychiatry and Arti Psychiatry. London: Travistock, 1967.

Cornu, A. The Origins of Marxian Thought. Springfield, Illinois: C. C. Thomas, 1957.

Coutts-Smith, Kenneth. Dada. London: Studio Vista, 1970.

____________. "The Political Art of Klaus Staeck." Praxis, 4, 1978, pp. 13-56.

Cunningham, Clark E. "Order in the Atoni-House." In Reader in Comparative Religion: An Anthropological Approach, pp. 116-135. Edited by William A. Lessa and Eron Z. Vogt. New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1972.

Davis, Stuart. "Abstract Painting Today (1940)." In Stuart Davis, pp. 116-121. Edited by Diane Kelder. New York: Draeger Publishers, 1971.

Davis, Stuart. "What About Modern Art and Democracy? (1943)." In Stuart Davis, pp. 131-142. Edited by Diane Kelder. New York: Draeger Publishers, 1971.

Delacroix, Eugéne. The Journal of Eugéne Delacroix. Translated by Lucy Norton. Edited by Hubert Wellington. London: Phaidon Press, 1951.

Delaunay, R. "Letter to August Macke, 1912." In Theories of Modern Art, pp. 317-319. Edited by Herschel Chipp. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975.

della Volpe, Galvano. Critique of Taste. London: New Left Books, 1978.

de Mauss, L. "The Evolution of Childhood." History of Childhood Quarterly, Vol. 1, 1974, pp. 503-606.

Denis, M. "Definition of Neotraditionism." In Theories of Modern Art: A Source Book by Artists and Critics, pp. 94-100. Edited by Herschel Chipp. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975.

de Santillana, Giorgio. "The Role of Art in the Scientific Renaissance." In Critical Problems in the History of Science, pp. 33-65. Edited by M. Clagett. Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969.

De Vore, Paul. The Origin of Man. Distributed through Current Anthropology. Chicago: Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, 1965.

Dewey, John. Art as Experience. New York: Capricorn Books, 1958.

Dorfman, A. and Mattlelart, A. How to Read Donald Duck: Imperialist Ideology in the Disney Comic. New York: International General, 1975.

Dreitzel, H. P. "Patterns of Communicative Behavior." Recent Sociology, No. 2, Collier-MacMillan, 1970.

Duchamp, Marcel. Eleven Europeans in American Museums of Modern Art Bulletin, Vol. 13, No. 4-5, 1948.

Dufrenne, M. The Phenomenology of Aesthetic Experience. Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1973.

Dvořák, Max. Idealism and Naturalism in Gothic Art. Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1967.

Eagleton, Terry. Criticism and Ideology: A Study in Marxist Literary Theory. London: New Left Books, 1976.

Eagleton, Terry. Marxism and Literary Criticism. London: Methuen, 1976.

Egbert, D. D. Social Radicalism and the Arts. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970.

Eisenstein, S. "Collision of Ideas." In Film: A Montage of Theories, pp. 34-38. Edited by R. D. MacCann. New York: Dutton, 1966.

Eisner, E. Educating Artistic Vision. New York: MacMillan, 1972.

Elkoff, M. "The American Painter as a Blue Chipp." In The Sociology of Art and Literature, pp. 311-323. Edited by Milton C. Albrecht, James H. Barnett and Mason Griff. New York: Praeger Pub., 1970.

Ellul, Jacques. Propaganda: The Formation of Men's Attitudes. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1965.

____________. The Technological Society. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1964.

Erickson, Erling A. "The Great Crash of October 1929." In The Great Depression Revisited, pp. 3-17. Edited by Van Der Wee. The Hague: Martinus Nijoff, 1972.

Ermarth, Michael. Wilhelm Dilthey: The Critique of Historical Reason. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1978.

Esterson, Aaron. The Leaves of Spring. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd., 1970.

Ewen, Stuart. Captains of Consciousness. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1976.

Eyskens, Mark. "The Influence of the Great Depression on Economic Theory." In The Great Depression Revisited, pp. 24-44. Edited by Van Der Wee. The Hague: Martinus Nijoff, 1977.

Fekete, J. "McLuhanacy: Counterrevolution in Cultural Theory." Telos 15, pp. 75-123.

____________. "The New Criticism: Ideological Evolution of the Right Opposition." Telos 20 (Summer, 1974):2-51.

Firth, Simon. The Sociology of Rock. London: Constable, 1978.

Fisher, Ernst. Art Against Ideology. London: Allen Lane: Penguin Press, 1969.

____________. The Necessity of Art. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books Ltd., 1963.

Fishwick, J. M. N., ed. Popular Architecture. Bowling Green: Bowling Green Popular Press, 1974.

Fiske, John and Hartley, John. Reading Television. London: Methuen and Co. Ltd., 1978

Floud, Peter. "Dating Morris Patterns." Architectural Review 126 (July 1959):15-20.

___________. "The Inconsistencies of William Morris." The Listener, October 14, 1954, pp. 615-631.

___________. "William Morris as an Artist: A New View." The Listener, October 7, 1954, pp. 562-564.

Foucault, Michael. The Archaeology of Knowledge. London: Travistock, 1972.

Foxell, N. Art and Confrontation: The Arts of Change. Greenwich, Conn.: New York Graphic Society Ltd., 1968.

Frampton, Kenneth. "The Evolution and Dissolution of Neoplasticism: 1917-1931." In Concepts of Modern Art, pp. 140-158. Edited by Tony Richardson and Nikos Stangos. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, Ltd., 1974.

Franciscono, Marcel. Walter Gropius and The Creation of the Bauhaus in Weimar: The Ideals and Artistic Theories of Its Founding Years. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1971.

Franks, David D. "Social Power, Role-Taking and the Structure of Imperceptiveness: Toward a Redefinition of False Consciousness." The Annals of Phenomenological Sociology, Vol. 1, 1976, pp. 93-111.

Freire, Paulo. Education: The Practice of Freedom. London: Writers and Readers Publishing Cooperative, 1974.

___________. Pedagogy of the Oppressed. New York: The Seabury Press, 1970.

French, Philip. The Movie Moguls. Harmondsworth: Pelican Books, 1971.

Frenzel, Ivo. "Utopia and Apocalypse in German Literature." Social Research, Vol. 39, 1972, pp. 306-322.

Fry, Roger. Vision and Design. New York: The New American Library Inc., 1974, A Meridian Book.

Fuller, Buckminister. The Buckminister Fuller Reader. London: Jonathan Cape, 1970.

Gabo, Naum. "The Realist Manifesto," and "Sculpture: Carving and Construction in Space." In Theories of Modern Art, pp. 325-336. Edited by H. Chipp. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968.

Gadamer, Hans-Georg. Truth and Method. London: Sheen and Ward Ltd., 1975.

Gaunt, William. The Restless Century, Painters in Britain 1800-1900. London: Phaidon Press Ltd., 1972.

Gauss, C. E. The Aesthetic Theories of French Artists. Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1949.

Gayle, Addison. The Black Aesthetic. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1971.

Gebhardt, Eike and Arato, Andrew, ed. The Essential Frankfurt School Reader. New York: Urizen Books, 1978.

Gegor, Ian ed. Matthew Arnold: Culture and Anarchy. New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1971.

Gellner, Ernest. "Concepts and Society." In Rationality: Key Concepts in the Social Sciences, pp. 18-49. Edited by Bryan R. Wilson. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1970.

Gerard, M., ed. Dali. New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1968.

Gerbrands, Adrian A. "Art as an Element of Culture in Africa." In Anthropology and Art, pp. 366-382. Edited by Charlotte M. Otten. New York: The Natural History Press, 1971.

Giedion, Sigfried. Mechanization Takes Command. New York: Oxford University Press, 1948.

Gilbert, K., and Kuhn, Helmut. A History of Aesthetics. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1954.

Gimpel, Jean. The Cathedral Builders. New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1961.

Giorgi, A. "Phenomenology and the Foundations of Psychology." In Nebraska Symposium on Motivation, 1975, pp. 281-348. Edited by W. J. Arnold. Lincoln University of Nebraska Press, 1975.

Gladwin, Thomas. East is a Big Bird: Navigation and Logic on Puluwat Atoll. Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1970.

Goldman, Bernard. "The Question of a Judaic Aesthetic in Ancient Synagogue Art." Journal of Art and Aesthetic Criticism, Vol. 19, 1961, pp. 295-302.

Goldmann, Lucien. Cultural Creation in Modern Society. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1977.

___________. The Hidden God. A Study of Tragic Vision in the Pensées of Pascal and the Tragedies of Racine. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1964.

___________. The Human Sciences and Philosophy. London: Jonathan Cape, 1969.

___________. Immanuel Kant. London: New Left Books, 1971.

___________. "Reflections on History and Class Consciousness." In Aspects of History and Class Consciousness, pp. 85-127. Edited by Istvan Mészaros. London: Kegan Paul, 1971.

___________. Towards a Sociology of the Novel. London: Travistock Publications, 1975.

Gombrich, E. H. Art and Illusion. 5th ed. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1972.

___________. The Story of Art. New York: Phaidon Publishers, 1950.

Gramsci, Antonio. Selections from Prison Notebooks. London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1971.

Graña, César. Fact and Symbol. New York: Oxford University Press, 1971.

Green, Christopher. "Purism." In Concepts of Modern Art, pp. 81-88. Edited by Tony Richardson and Nikos Stangos. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd., 1974.

Greenberg, C. Art and Culture. Boston: Beacon Press, 1961.

Greene, Maxine. Landscapes of Learning. London: Teachers College Press, 1979

Grene, Marjorie. Existentialism. Chicago: Chicago Press, 1970.

Gris, Juan. "Response to a Questionnaire on His Art," and "Response to a Questionnaire on Cubism." In Theories of Modern Art, pp. 274-276. Edited by H. Chipp. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968.

Habermas, J. Knowledge and Human Interests. Boston: Beacon Press, 1968.

___________. The Legitimation Crisis. Boston: Beacon Press, 1975.

Hadjinicolaou, N. Art History and Class Struggle. London: Pluto Press, 1978.

Hall, T. Beyond Culture. New York: Anchor Press, 1976.

____________. The Hidden Dimension. New York: Doubleday and Co. Inc., 1969.

Hannema, Sjoerd. Fads, Fakes and Fantasies: The Crisis in Art Schools and Crisis in Art. London: MacDonald, 1970.

Harré, R., and Secord, P. F. The Explanation of Social Behavior. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1972.

Harris, Neil. The Artist in American Society: The Formative Years 1790-1860. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1966.

Harrison, Charles. "Abstract Expressionism." In Concepts of Modern Art, pp. 168-210. Edited by Tony Richardson and Nikos Stangos. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd., 1974.

Haskell, Francis. Patrons and Painters: Italian Art and Society in the Age of Baroque. London: Chatto and Windus, 1963.

Hauser, Arnold, Mannerism: The Crisis of the Renaissance and the Origin of Modern Thought, Vol. 1, London; Kegan Paul, 1965.

____________. The Social History of Art. 4 vols. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., A Vintage Book, reprint ed., 1951.

Hausman, Carl R. A Discourse on Novelty and Creation. Netherlands: Martinus Nijhoff, 1975.

Heard, Gerald. The Five Ages of Man. New York; Julian Press, 1963.

Hearn, Francis. "Toward a Critical Theory of Play." Telos, #30, 1977, pp. 145-160.

Heidegger, M. "The Origin of the Work of Art." In Philosophies of Art and Beauty, pp. 647-701. Edited by Albert Hofstadter and Richard Kuhns. New York: The Modern Library, 1964.

Heiss, Robert. Hegel, Kierkegaard, Marx. New York: Dell Publishing Co. Inc., 1975.

Hess, Thomas E., and Baker, E. C. Art and Sexual Politics. New York: MacMillan Pub. Co. Inc., 1978.

Hesse, E. H. "Ethology: An Approach Toward the Complete Analysis of Behavior." In New Directions in Psychology, pp. 157-266. Edited by R. Brown. New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston, 1967.

Hill, Anthony. Data: Directions in Art, Theory and Aesthetics. Greenwich Conn.: New York Graphic Society, 1968.

Hinde, R. A., and Rowell, T. E. "Communication by Postures and Facial Expressions in the Rhesus Monkey." Proceedings of the Zoological Society 138, pp. 1-21.

Hinz, Berthold, Art in the Third Reich. New York: Pantheon Books, 1979.

Hofmann, Hans. "Excerpts From His teaching." In Theories of Modern Art, pp. 536-543. Edited by Herschel Chipp. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968.

Horkheimer, Max. "The Authoritarian State." In The Essential Frankfurt School Reader, pp. 95-117. Edited by Andrew Arato and Eike Gebhardt. New York: Urizen Books, 1978.

____________. "The End of Reason." In The Essential Frankfurt School Reader, pp. 26-49. Edited by Andrew Arato and Eike Gebhardt. New York: Urizen Books, 1978.

Horkheimer, Max, and Adorno, Theodore. Dialectics of Enlightenment New York: The Seabury Press, 1972.

Hoy, D. C. The Critical Circle: Literature, History and Philosphical Hermeneutics. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978.

Hubert, Jerzy. "Creativity: A Definition Based on the Concept of Negentropy." Dialectics and Humanism 5(2) (Spring 1970):77-90.

Huelsenbeck, R. "An Avant Dada: A History of Dadaism." In Theories of Modern Art, pp. 377-382. Edited by H. Chipp. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968.

Hughes, S. Consciousness and Society 1890-1930. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1958.

Hunt, Ron. "For Factography." Studio International, Vol. 191, #980, pp. 96-100.

Husserl, E. The Concept of European Sciences and Transcendental Phenomenology. Evanston: Northwestern Press, 1970.

Hussey, Francis. The Picturesque. London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1927.

Huizinga, Johan. The Waning of the Middle Ages. Harmondsworth, Middlesex; Penguin Books Inc., 1955.

Ivins, William M. On the Rationalization of Sight: With an Examination of Three Renaissance Texts on Perspective. New York: Da Capo Press, 1975.

Jakubowski, Franz. Ideology and Superstructure in Historical Materialism. London: Allison and Busby, 1976.

Jammer, Max. Concepts of Space: The History of Theories of Space in Physics. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1954.

Jarrett, Derek. England in the Age of Hogarth. Frogmore, St. Albans: Granada Pub. Ltd., 1976, Paladin Books.

Jay, Martin. "The Frankfurt School's Critique." Social Research, Vol. 39, 1972.

Jenkins, I. Art and Human Enterprise. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958.

Jenks, Chris. Rationality, Education and the Social Organization of Knowledge: Papers for a Reflexive Sociology of Education. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1977.

Jung, Carl. Man and His Symbols. New York: Dell Publishing Co., 1964.

Kaelin, E. F. "Notes Toward an Understanding of Heidegger's Aesthetics." In Phenomenology and Existentialism, pp. 59-92. Edited by Edward N. Lee and Maurice Mandelbaum. Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1967.

Kahnweiler, Daniel-Henry. "The Rise of Cubism." In Theories of Modern Art, pp. 248-258. Edited by H. Chipp. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968.

Kaminsky, Jack. Hegel on Art. New York: State University of New York, 1962.

Kandinsky, Wassily. Concerning the Spiritual in Art. New York: George Wittenborn, Inc., 1947.

____________. "The Problem of Form." In Voices of German Expressionism, pp. 45-64. Edited by V. Miesel. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1970.

Kaprow, Allan. "The Education of the Un-Artist, Part I." In New Ideas in Art Education, pp. 86-97. Edited by G. Battcock. New York: E. P. Dutton and Co. Inc., 1973.

Keen, Ernst. A Primer in Phenomenological Psychology. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1975.

Kettle, Arnold. "The Progressive Tradition in Bourgeois Culture." In Radical Perspectives in the Arts, pp. 159-174. Edited by Lee Baxandall. Harmondsworth: Penguin Ltd., 1972.

Kindleberger, Charles. The World in Depression 1929-1939. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973.

Kirchheimer, O. "Changes in the Structure of Political Compromise." In The Essential Frankfurt School Reader, pp. 49-70. Edited by Andrew Arato and Eike Gebhardt. New York: Urizen Books, 1978.

Kirchner, Ernst Ludwig. "Three Letters." In Voices of German Expressionism, pp. 14-24. Edited by Victor Miesel. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1970.

Klare, Karl, E. "The Critique of Everyday Life, Marxism and the New Left." Berkeley Journal of Sociology, Vol. XVI, 1971-1972, pp. 15-45.

Klee, P. The Thinking Eye. London: L. Humphries, 1961.

Klingender, Francis. Art of the Industrial Revolution. New York: Schocken Books, 1970.

____________. Goya and the Democratic Tradition. New York: Schocken Books, 1968.

Kockelmans, J. A. "Merleau-Ponty's Phenomenology of Language." Review of Existential Psychology and Psychiatry, Vol. 3, No. 1, 1963, pp. 39-82.

____________"Merleau-Ponty's View of Space-Perception and Space." Review of Existential Psychology and Psychiatry, Vol. 4, #1, 1964, pp. 69-105.

Kokoschka, O. "On the Nature of Visions." In Voices of German Expressionism, pp. 98-101. Edited by V. Miesel. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1970.

Kolakowski, Leszek. The Alienation of Reason. New York: Doubleday Pub., 1968.

____________. "Althusser's Marx." In The Socialist Registrar, pp. 111-128. Edited by R. Miliband and John Saville. London: Merlin Press, 1971.

____________. "The Persistence of the Sein-Sollen Dilemma." In Man and World, Vol. X, 1979, pp. 194-233.

Kosik, K. Dialectics of the Concrete. Boston Studies in the Philosophy of Science, No. 106. Boston: D. Reidel Pub. Co., 1976.

Kosik, K. "Dialectics of the Concrete Totality." Telos. #2, 1968, pp. 21-37.

Kosok, Michael. "The Dialectical Matrix: Towards Phenomenology as a Science." Telos, #5, 1970, pp. 115-159.

____________. "The Dialectics of Nature." Telos, #6, 1970, pp. 47-103.

____________. "The Dynamics of Paradox." Telos, #5, 1970, pp. 31-43.

Kuhn, Thomas. The Structure of Scientific Revolutions. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962.

Kuspit, Donald. "The Art of Reductionism." Main Currents in Modern Thought, XXIX, 1972, pp. 21-27.

Laing, Dave. The Marxist Theory of Art. New Jersey: Humanities Press, 1978.

Laing, R. D. and Cooper, D. Reason and Violence. London: Travistock Publishers, 1971.

Landmann, Michael. Philosophical Anthropology. Philadelphia: Westminister Press, 1974.

Lanier, Vincent. "Art and the Disadvantaged." Art Education 23(9) (December 1970):7-12.

____________. "The Five Faces of Art Education." Studies in Art Education 18(3), 1974, pp. 7-21.

Lacquer, Walter. "The Intellectuals and the State of Weimer." Social Research, Vol. 39, 1972, pp. 213-228.

Larkin, Oliver W. Daumier: Man of His Time. Boston: Beacon Press, 1966.

Lawick-Goodall, Jane. In the Shadow of Man. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1971.

Lemert, Edwin M. Social Pathology. New York: McGraw-Hill Pub., 1951.

Leroi-Gourhan, A. The Art of Prehistoric Man, in Western Europe. London; Thames and Hudson, 1968.

Levi-Strauss, C. Totemism. Boston: Beacon Press, 1962.

Lewis, George H. "Taste Cultures and Culture Classes in Mass Society: Shifting Patterns in American Music." International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music, Vol. 8, #1, 1977, pp. 39-49.

Lichtman, Richard. "Social Reality and Consciousness." In *Radical Sociology*. Edited by J. D. Colfax and J. L. Roach. New York: Basic Books Inc., 1971.

Linden, George W. *Reflections on the Screen*. Belmont, California: Wadsworth Pub. Co., Inc., 1970.

Lindsay, J. *Gustave Courbet: His Life and Art*. London: Jupiter Book Ltd., 1977.

___________. *Turner: His Life and Work*. New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1966.

Lindzey, G., and Hall, C. S., ed. *Theories of Personality: Primary Sources and Research*. New York: John Wiley, 1957.

Lippard, Lucy. *Six Years: The Dematerialization of Art*. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1973.

Listowel, Earl of, *Modern Aesthetics: An Historical Introduction*. New York: Teachers College Press, 1967.

Lobkowicz, N. *Theory and Practice: History of a Concept from Aristotle to Marx*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1967.

Lobkowicz, Nicholas, ed. *Marx and the Western World*. London: Notre Dame Press, 1967.

Lukács, G. *History and Class Consciousness: Studies in Marxist Dialectics*. London: Merlin Press, 1971.

___________. *The Rise of the Historical Novel*. Atlantic Highlands, New Jersey: Humanities Press, 1974.

___________. *The Theory of the Novel*. Atlantic Highlands, New Jersey: Humanities Press, 1978.

___________. *Writer and Critic*. London: Merlin Press, 1970.

Luquet, G. H. *The Art and Religion of Fossil Man*. London: Yale University Press, 1930.

Luria, A. *Cognitive Development, Its Cultural and Social Foundation*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976.

___________. "The Historical Nature of Psychological Processes." *International Journal of Psychology* 6(4), 1971.

MacDonald, Stuart. *The History and Philosophy of Art Education*. London: University of London Press, Ltd., 1970.

MacGregor, R. N. *Art Plus*. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Ltd., 1977.

MacKay, Agnes E. The Universal Self. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961.

Malevich, Kasimir. "Introduction to the Theory of the Additional Element in Painting," and "Suprematism." In Theories of Modern Art, pp. 337-345. Edited by H. Chipp. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968.

Mannheim, Karl. Ideology and Utopia. New York: Harcourt Brace and World, Inc., 1936.

Marc, F. "Letter to August Macke." In Voices of German Expressionism, pp. 66-70. Edited by V. Miesel. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1970.

Marcuse, Herbert. The Aesthetic Dimension. Boston: Beacon Press, 1978.

____________. "Contributions to a Phenomenology of Historical Materialsim (1928)." Telos, 1(4), 1969, pp. 3-34.

____________. Counterrevolution and Revolt. Boston: Beacon Press, 1972.

____________. Eros and Civilization. Boston: Beacon Press, 1955.

____________. An Essay on Liberation. Boston: Beacon Press, 1969.

____________. Negations. Boston: Beacon Press, 1968.

Marinetti, F. T. "The Foundation and Manifesto of Futurism." In Theories of Modern Art, pp. 284-297. Edited by H. Chipp. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975.

Márkus, György. "Human Essence and History." International Journal of Sociology 4(1) (Spring 1974):82-125.

Martindale, Andrew. The Rise of the Artist: In the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance. New York: MacGraw-Hill Book Company, 1977.

Marx, K. Grundrisse. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books Ltd., 1973.

Matza, D. Delinquency and Drift. New York: Wiley Pub., 1964.

Mazonowicz, Douglas. Voices From the Stone Age. New York: Thomas Crowell Co., 1974.

Mazurek, Kas. "Athens and Atomism: A Social History." M.Ed. dissertation, University of Alberta, 1976.

McLuhan, Marshal and Fiore, Quentin. The Medium is the Massage. New York: Bantam Books, 1967.

Merleau-Ponty, Maurice. Phenomenology of Perception. 6th ed. New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1974.

__________. Sense and Non-Sense. Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1964.

Miesel, V. "Der Blaue Reiter." In Voices of German Expressionism, pp. 43-83. Edited by V. Miesel. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1970.

Miller, Lillian G. Patrons and Patriotism: The Encouragement of the Fine Arts in the United States 1790-1860. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1966.

Moholy-Nagy, L. "The Function of Art." In Esthetics Contemporary, pp. 71-75. Edited by Richard Kostelanetz. New York: Prometheus Books, 1978.

__________. "Space-Time Relations." In Esthetics Contemporary, pp. 76-82. Edited by Richard Kostelanetz. New York: Prometheus Books, 1978.

Moles, A. "Art and Cybernetics in the Supermarket." In Cybernetics, Art and Ideas. Edited by Jason Reichardt. Greenwich, Conn.: New York: Graphic Society, 1971.

Moncrieff, Donald W. "Aesthetics and the African Bushman." In Duquesne Studies in Phenomenological Psychology, Vol. II. Edited by A. Giorgi. Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 1975.

Mondrian, P. "Plastic Art and Pure Plastic Art," and "Statement." In Theories of Modern Art, pp. 349-362. Edited by H. Chipp. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968.

Morawski, Stefan. "Historicism and the Philosophy of Art." Praxis, Vol. 2, #4, 1979, pp. 71-86.

__________. Inquiries into the Fundamentals of Aesthetics. Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1974.

Morawski, S., and Baxandall, Lee, ed. A Selection of Writings: Marx and Engels on Literature and Art. St. Louis, Milwaukee: Telos Press, 1973.

Morris, Desmond. The Biology of Art. London: Methuen, 1962.

Morris, Desmond; Collett, Peter; Marsh, Peter; and O'Shaughnesy, Marie. *Gestures, Their Origins and Distribution*. London: Jonathan Cape, 1979.

Moulin, Raoul-Jean. *Prehistoric Painting*. New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1965.

Mukerji, Chandra. "Mass Culture and the Modern World System." *Theory and Society* 8, 1979, pp. 245-268.

Murdoch, Iris. *The Fire and the Sun: Why Plato Banished the Artists*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977.

Natanson, Maurice. *Edmund Husserl: Philosopher of Infinite Tasks*. Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1973.

__________. *Literature, Philosophy and the Social Sciences: Essays in Existentialism and Phenomenology*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1962.

Nolde, Emil. "Work in Nine Parts." In *Voices of German Expressionism*, pp. 31-34. Edited by V. Miesel. Englewood, Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1970.

Norton, Theodore Mills and Ollman, Bertell, eds. *Studies in Socialist Pedagogy*. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1978.

Novac, George. *The Origins of Materialism*. New York: Pathfinder Press, Inc., 1965.

Oates, Whitney J. *Plato's View of Art*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1972.

O'Connor, Francis V. *Art for the Millions*. Greenwich, Conn.: New York: Graphic Society, 1973.

O'Connor, Francis V., ed. *The New Deal Art Projects: An Anthology of Memoirs*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institute Press, 1972.

Opper, J. *Science and the Arts*. New Jersey: Fairleigh Dickenson University Press, 1973.

Ossowski, Stanislaus. *The Foundations of Aesthetics*. Boston: D. Reidel Publishing Company, 1978.

Overy, Paul. "Vorticism." In *Concepts of Modern Art*, pp. 105-108. Edited by Tony Richardson and Nikos Stangos. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd., 1974.

Paci, Enzo. *The Function of the Sciences and the Meaning of Man*. Evanston: Northwestern Pub. Co., 1972.

Paci, Enzo. "The Phenomenological Encyclopedia and the Telos of History." Telos 2, 1968, pp. 5-18.

____________. "Towards a New Phenomenology." Telos 5, 1970, pp. 58-81.

Packard, Vance. The People Shapers. Camberwell, London: Futura Publications Ltd., 1978.

Paetzoldt, Heinz. "Walter Benjamin's Theory of the End of Art." International Journal of Sociology 7(1), 1977, pp. 25-75.

Panofsky, Erwin. Meaning in the Visual Arts. New York: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1955.

Papanek, Victor. Design for the Real World. New York: Pantheon Books, 1971.

Peckham, Morse. Man's Rage for Chaos: Biology, Behavior and the Arts. Philadelphia: Chilton Books, 1965.

Petryszak, N., and Peter K. "Biology Versus Sociobiology." Unpublished manuscript, University of Alberta.

Pettit, Philip. "The Life-World and Role Theory." In Phenomenology and Philosophical Understanding, pp. 251-270. Edited by Edo Pevčević. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975.

Pevsner, Nikolaus. Academies of Art, Past and Present. New York: Da Capo Press, 1973.

____________. An Outline of European Architecture. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1943.

Piaget, Jean. Structuralism. New York: Harper and Row Pub., 1970.

Picone , Paul. "From Tragedy to Farce: The Return of Critical Theory." New German Critique 7 (Winter 1976).

____________. "Phenomenological Marxism." In Towards a New Marxism, pp. 133-158. Edited by Bart Grahl and Paul Piconne. St. Louis: Telos Press, 1973.

Pilbeam, David. The Evolution of Man. New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1970.

Piscator, Erwin. The Political Theatre. Hamburg: Rowohlt Verlag Pub. Co., 1963, Avon Printing 1978.

Plessner, H. Laughing and Crying: A Study of the Limits of Human Behavior. Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1970.

Pohland, Paul. "Research: Participant Observation." *Studies in Art Education* 13(3) (Spring 1972):4-15.

Polanyi, Michael. *The Tacit Dimension*. Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1966.

Pollack, F. "State Capitalism: Its Possibilities and Limitations." In *The Essential Frankfurt School Reader*, pp. 71-94. Edited by Andrew Arato and Eike Gebhardt. New York: Urizen Books, 1978.

Popper, Frank. *Art, Action and Participation*. New York: New York University Press, 1975.

Popper, Karl R. *The Poverty of Historicism*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1974.

"The Pursuit by John Staezake." *Studio International* 191(980), 1976, pp. 124-133.

Radnitsky, Gerald. *Anglo-Saxon Schools of Metascience*. Sweden: Berlingska Boktrycheriet Lund Pub., 1968.

Radnoti, Sandor. "The Early Aesthetics of Walter Benjamin." *International Journal of Sociology* 7(1), 1977, pp. 76-143.

Raphael, Max. *Prehistoric Cave Paintings*. New York: Marchbanks Press, 1945.

____________. *Prehistoric Pottery and Civilization in Egypt*. Bollingen Series VIII, Pantheon Books, 1945.

Ratter, Carl. "Principles of Dialectical Psychology." *Telos* 9, 1971, pp. 83-109.

Reynolds, Graham. *Constable: The Natural Painter*. New York: Schocken Books, 1965.

Richardson, John Adkins. *Modern Art and Scientific Thought*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1971.

Riegel, Klaus F. "From Traits and Equilibrium Toward Developmental Dialectics." In *Nebraska Symposium on Motivation, 1975*, pp. 348-407. Edited by W. J. Arnold. Lincoln University of Nebraska Press, 1975.

Rogers, Marie. "The Batignolles Group: Creators of Impressionism," *Autonomous Groups*, Vol. XIV, #3 and #4, Spring and Summer, 1959.

Rosemont, Franklin. *André Breton and the First Principles of Surrealism*. London: Pluto Press, 1978.

Rosenberg, Harold. The Anxious Object. New York: Collier Books, 1966.

___________. The Tradition of the New. New York: Horizon Press, 1960.

Rosenblum, R. Transformations in Late Eighteenth Century Art. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1967.

Rubel, Paula G., and Rosman, Abraham. "Big Man Structure and Exchange Systems in New Guinea." Social Science Information 15(1), pp. 117-127.

Salmon, A. "Anecdotal History of Cubism." In Theories of Modern Art, pp. 199-206. Edited by H. Chipp. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968.

Sartre, John Paul. Between Existentialism and Marxism. New York: William Morrow and Co., 1974.

___________. Critique of Dialectical Reason. London: New Left Books, 1976.

___________. "Replies to Structuralism, An Interview." Telos 9, 1971, pp. 116-126.

___________. Search for a Method. New York: Alfred A. Knopf Inc., 1968.

Sarup, Madan. Marxism and Education. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1978.

Schapiro, Meyer. Modern Art: 19th and 20th Centuries. London: Chatto and Windus, 1978.

___________. Paul Cézanne. New York: H. N. Abrams, 1952.

___________. Romanesque Art. New York: George Braziller, 1979.

___________. Vincent van Gogh. New York: H. N. Abrams, 1950.

Schiller, F. On the Aesthetic Education of Man, in a Series of Letters. New York: Frederick Ungar Pub. Co., 1965.

Schmidt, Alfred. The Concept of Nature in Marx. London: New Left Books, 1971.

Schmidt, J. "Praxis and Temporality: Karl Kosik's Political Theory." Telos 33, 1977, pp. 71-84.

Scholte, Bob. "Towards a Reflexive and Critical Anthropology." In Reinventing Anthropology, pp. 430-457. Edited by Dell Hymes. New York: Random House, 1969.

Schutz, A. "On Multiple Realities." Collected Papers, Vol. 1. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1967.

Schutz, A., and Luckmann, Thomas. The Structures of the Life-World London: Heinemann, 1974.

Sebeok, T. "Animal Communication." UNESCO International Social Science Journal, 19, 1967, pp. 88-95.

Segall, M. H.; Campbell, D. T.; and Herskovitz, J. J. The Influence of Culture on Visual Perception. New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1966.

Seitz, William C. Tobey. New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1962.

Shannon, R. T. The Crisis of Imperialism 1865-1915. London: Hart-Davis, MacGibbon Pub., 1974.

Shapiro, Theda, Painters and Politics. New York: Elsevier Scientific Publishing Co. Inc., 1976.

Sharp. R., and Green, A. Education and Social Control. London: Routledge and Kegan Pual, 1975.

Sheffield, Margaret. "Hans Haacke - Interview." Studio International 191(980), 1976, pp. 117-123.

Sher, Gerson. Praxis: Marxist Criticism and Dissent in Socialist Yugoslavia. New York: Free Press, 1978.

Shiff, R. "The End of Impressionism: A Study in Theories of Artistic Expression." The Art Quarterly 1(4), 1978, pp. 338-379.

Shklovsky, Viktor. Mayakovsky and His Circle. New York: Pluto Press, 1972.

Short, Robert S. "The Politics of Surrealism 1920-1936." Journal of Contemporary History 1, 1966.

Showalter, Elaine, A Literature of Their Own: British Women Novelists From Bronte to Lessing. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1977.

Simmel, G. The Conflict in Modern Culture and Other Essays. New York: Teachers College Press, 1968.

Slive, S. "Rembrandt and His Contemporary Critics." In Ideas in Cultural Perspective, pp. 203-220. Edited by Philip Wiener and Aaron Noland. New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1962.

Smith, Peter. "Biosocial Anthropology." British Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology, Vol. 15.

Sohn-Rethel, Alfred. Intellectual and Manual Labor. London: MacMillan Press Ltd., 1978.

Solomon, Maynard. Marxism and Art. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1973.

Staeck, Klaus. Klaus Staeck: Interview." Studio International 191(980), 1976, pp. 137-140.

Stone, Merlin. The Paradise Papers, The Suppression of Women's Rites. London: Virago, 1976.

Stoops, John A. "The Human Worth of Aesthetic Play." In Philosophers Speak of Aesthetic Experience in Education, pp. 17-32. Edited by Robert L. Leight. Danville, Illinois: The Interstate Printers and Publishers, Inc., 1975.

Sunderland, John. Painting in Britain 1525-1975. Oxford: Phaidon Press Ltd., 1976.

Sypher, Wylie. Four Stages of Renaissance Style. Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1978.

____________. Rococo to Cubism in Art and Literature. New York: Random House, 1960.

Tagg, J. "American Power and American Painting: The Development of Vanguard Painting in the United States Since 1945." Praxis 2, 1976, pp. 59-80.

Tatarkiewicz, Władysław. History of Aesthetics. Vol. 1: Ancient Aesthetics. Edited by D. Petsch. Warszawa: Polish Scientific Publishers, 1974.

____________. History of Aesthetics. Vol. 2: Medieval Aesthetics. Edited by D. Petsch. Warszawa: Polish Scientific Publishers, 1974.

____________. History of Aesthetics. Vol. 3: Modern Aesthetics. Edited by D. Petsch. Warszawa: Polish Scientific Publishers, 1974.

Taylor, A. J. P. "On Revolution - A Series of 6 Talks." The Listener (13 July 1978 through to 17 August 1979). "The Year of National Revolutions." (3 August 1978).

Taylor, Roger. Art an Enemy of the People. Sussex: Harvester Free Press, 1978.

Taylor, Ronald, ed. Aesthetics and Politics. London: New Left Books, 1977.

Themptander, Christine. "Photomontages." Praxis 2, 1976, pp. 179-188.

Therborn, Göran. "Jurgen Habermas: A New Eclecticism." New Left Review 67 (May-June 1971):69-83.

Thompson, E. P. Capitalism and After: The Rise and Fall of Commodity Production. London: China Policy Study Group, 1973.

____________. William Morris: Romantic to Revolutionary. New York: Pantheon Books, 1977.

Thompson, G. "Television as Text: Open University Case Study." In Ideology and Cultural Production, pp. 160-198. Edited by Michele Barrett, Philip Corrigan, Annette Kuhn and Janet Wolff. London: Billing and Sons Ltd., 1979.

Thomson, George. Aeschylus and Athens: A Study in the Social Origins of Drama. London: Lawrence and Wishart Ltd., 1941.

____________. Marxism and Poetry. London: Lawrence and Wishart Ltd., 1975.

Tisdall, Caroline. "Jimmy Boyle, Joseph Beuys: A Dialogue." Studio International 191(980), 1976, pp. 144-146.

Toffler, A. The Culture Consumers. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1964.

Toffler, A., Author. Television Interview by Dick Cavett. April 1980.

Tolstoy, Leon. What is Art? New York: Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1960.

Trevor-Roper, Hugh. Princes and Artists: Patronage and Ideology at Four Habsburg Courts 1517-1633. London: Thames and Hudson, 1976.

Trotsky, Leon. "Literature and Revolution." In Theories of Modern Art, pp. 462-470. Edited by H. Chipp. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968.

Tufts, E. Our Hidden Heritage, Five Centuries of Women Artists. New York: Paddington Press, 1979.

Tzara, Tristan. "Lecture on Dada." In Theories of Modern Art, pp. 385-389. Edited by Herschel Chipp. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968.

Ucko, P. J., and Rosenfeld, Andrée. Palaeolithic Cave Art. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1974.

Uspensky, B. A., "'Left' and 'Right' in Icon Painting." Semiotica 13, 1975, pp. 33-39.

Van Der Post, L. The Heart of the Hunter. New York: William Morrow and Co., 1961.

Van Gogh, Vincent. "Letters." In Theories of Modern Art: A Source Book by Artists and Critics, pp. 31-46. Edited by Herschel Chipp. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975.

Vayda, Mihály. "Crisis and the Way Out." Telos 12, 1972, pp. 3-26.

Vazquez, Aldolfo Sanchez. Art and Society. London: Monthly Review Press, 1973.

____________. The Philosophy of Praxis. London: Merlin Press, 1977.

Venturi, Robert; Brown, Denise Scott; and Izenour, Steven. Learning From Las Vegas. Mass.: MIT Press, 1977.

Vogel, Amos. Film as a Subversive Art. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1974.

Von Blum, Paul. The Art of Social Conscience. New York: Universe Books, 1976.

von Der Dunk, H. W. "The Depression and the Intellectuals." In The Great Depression Revisited, pp. 269-278. Edited by Van Der Wee. The Hague: Martinus Nijoff, 1972.

Vygotsky, L. S. Thought and Language. Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1962.

Waddington, C. H. Behind Appearance: A Study of the Relations Between Painting and Natural Sciences. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1970.

Walker, John A. "APG: The Individual and the Organization." Studio International 191(980) (March/April 1976):162-172.

Warren, Carol and Johnson, John. "A Critique of Labeling Theory from the Phenomenological Persepctive." In Theoretical Perspectives on Deviance. Edited by Robert Scott and Jack D. Douglas. New York: Basic Books, 1972.

Washburn, S. L., and Jay, P. C. Perspectives on Human Evolution. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968.

Waterhouse, Ellis. Painting in Britain 1530-1790. London: Penguin Books, 1953.

__________. Three Decades of British Art 1740-1770. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society Independence Square, 1965.

Weber, William. "Mass Culture and the Reshaping of European Musical Taste 1770-1870." International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music 8(1), 1979, pp. 5-23.

White, Harrison and White, Cynthia. Canvases and Careers: Institutional Change in French Painting. New York: John Wiley and Sons Inc., 1965.

Whitty, Geoff. "Sociology and the Problem of Radical Educational Change." In Sociology and the Problem of Radical Educational Change. Edited by Michael Flude and Joan Ahier. London: Croom Helm, 1974.

Wilkinson, David. "Malraux: Revolutionist and Minister." Journal of Contemporary History 1, 1966.

Wilkinson, Elizabeth M.; and Willoughby, L. A., ed. Schiller's Kabale und Liebo. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1968.

Will, F. Intelligible Beauty in Aesthetic Thought. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1958.

Willats, Stephen. "From a Coded World." Art for Whom? pp. 63-71. Sue Grayson, Serpentine Gallery Organizer, April 1978.

__________. "The Perivale Project." Art for Whom? pp. 27-31. Sue Grayson, Serpentine Gallery Organizer, April 1978.

Willett, John. The New Sobriety: 1917-1933. London: Thames and Hudson, 1978.

Williams, R. Culture and Society 1780-1950. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1963.

Witkin, Robert. The Intelligence of Feeling. London: Heinemann Educational, 1974.

Wolfe, Tom. The Painted Word. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1975.

Wolfenstein, Martha. "The Social Background of Taine's Philsophy of Art." In Ideas in Cultural Perspective, pp. 283-312. Edited by Philip P. Wiener and Aaron Noland. New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1962.

Wolff, Janet. "The Sociology of Art Versus Aesthetics." Occasional Paper No. 1. The University of Leeds, 1975.

Worringer, Wilhelm. Form in Gothic. London: G. P. Putnam's Sons Ltd., 1964.

y Gasset, O. The Dehumanization of Art. New York: W. W. Norton and Company Inc., 1972.

Young, J. A. An Introduction to the Study of Man. London: Yale University Press, 1930.

Young, Michael F. D. Knowledge and Control. London: Collier-MacMillan, 1975.

____________. "Taking Sides Against the Probable." In Rationality, Education and the Social Organization of Knowledge: Papers for a Reflexive Sociology of Education, pp. 86-93. Edited by Chris Jends. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1977.

Young, Michael. The Rise of the Meritocracy. New York: Random House, 1959.

Zaner, M. The Way of Phenomenology. New York: Pegasus, 1970.

Zerner, Henri. "Alois Riegl: Art, Value and Historicism." Daedalus 105(1), 1975, pp. 177-188.

Zilsel, E. "The Sociological Roots of Science." American Journal of Sociology 47 (January 1942):545-560.

Zis, Avner. Foundations of Marxist Aesthetics. Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1977.

APPENDIX

The Growth of Aesthetic Consciousness

The Palaeolithic Period - 20,000 B.C.

Aesthetic Ideology - Sympathetic magic, fertility, totemism
Material - Animal fats, pigments
Artistic Knowledge - Shamanistic
Art Form - Cave drawing
Measure - Fingers and palm, close view
Art Education - Art education by contagion
Technique - Hand chopper industry; tools

The Mesolithic Period - 10,000 B.C.

Aesthetic Ideology - Myth and totem magic
Material - Arrowhead obsidian; calciferous rock
Artistic Knowledge - Corroboree meant that elders rendered art as myth.
Art Form - Rock and sand painting; domestic animals drawn
Measure - Arm's length; beginnings of the distant view; totemic oppositions amongst tribes.
Art Education - Myth learning and rendering of stylized totem animals
Technique - Travelling tribes would meet around sacred spots for myth-making, social dance, enactment of hunt; domestic animals are stylized; beginning of totemic hierarchy

The Neolithic Period - 7,000 B.C.

Aesthetic Ideology - Cult of the harvest priestess
Material - Clay
Artistic Knowledge - Women priestesses
Art Form - Early, pot weaving
Measure - Horizon line; birth, death
Art Education - Craftsmen learn trade
Technique - Kiln, weaving loom

The Late Neolithic Period - 6,000 B.C.

Aesthetic Ideology - Cult of the dead
Material - Copper
Artistic Knowledge - Priest takes over
Art Form - Tomb; copper vessels
Measure - Geometrical cubit; Sumerian mathematics
Art Education - Priest teaches geometric canons
Technique - Copper tools enable the beginnings of stone sculpture and more elaborate cult burials.

The Chalcolithic Period - 5,500 B.C. - 4,500 B.D.

Aesthetic Ideology - Aesthetics and ethics of the warrior prince
Material - Bronze
Artistic Knowledge - Priest and prince
Art Form - Ziggurat and armour
Measure - Geometrical canons; a relief sculpture
Art Education - Craftsmen in the service of warrior élite making ornamental armour
Technique - Smelting techniques (metallurgy); fine jewellry

The Bronze Period I - 3,500 B.D.

Aesthetic Ideology - Aesthetics and ethics of landed nobility
Material - Stone diorite
Artistic Knowledge - Vizier in service of landed nobility; the pharaoh
Art Form - Pyramid and sculpture
Measure - Monumentalism; 2-d formalistic sculpture
Art Education - Split between craftsman (jewelers, potters) and sculptors and architects who need calculation
Technique - Writing and calculation skills for large scale monumentalism

The Late Bronze Period II - 2,500 B.C.

Aesthetic Ideology - Aesthetics and ethics of the Age of Heroes - the divine kings
Material - Verse; bronze
Artistic Knowledge - Poet in service of the hero
Art Form - Epic Poem
Measure - Monumentalism secularized; gods are secularized
Art Education - Art as propaganda; no institutions - they teach themselves
Technique - The recital

The Early Iron Period I - 2,000 B.C.

Aesthetic Ideology - Aesthetics of the merchant, prince and middle class
Material - Marble
Artistic Knowledge - Philosopher informed the actor
Art Form - Lyric, tragedy, comedy; triumphal arch
Measure - Pythagorean Kanons; mimesis as imitation of ideal; naturalism
Art Education - Craftsmen still split; poet becomes the actor; peripatetic art education
Technique - Small factory for craft industry; application of geometry to art

The Iron Period II - 1,500 B.C.

Aesthetic Ideology - Christian theology; Plotinus
Material - Music and manuscripts
Artistic Knowledge - Sage, prophet
Art Form - Music; symbolic painting; manuscript
Measure - Panaesthetic space, concentric geometrical space
Art Education - Sages instruct outside the institution; iconophile - representation by symbolism
Technique - Transportable icons

The Middle Iron Period III - A.D. 100

Aesthetic Ideology - Augustinian aesthetics; chivalric code
Material - Painting
Artistic Knowledge - Caesar - papacy
Art Form - Romanesque
Measure - Church as fortress; reversed space; size according to significance of figures
Art Education - Iconographic symbolism supplemented by naturalism, taught by monks, script illumination
Technique - Work performed in monasteries by monks and helpers.

The Late Iron Period IV: Animal, Water, Wind Power - A.D. 1200

Aesthetic Ideology - Aesthetics of St. Thomas Aquinas (Aristotelian)
Material - Stained glass and sculpture
Artistic Knowledge - Monk and Church Order in power
Art Form - High Gothic
Measure - A shift back to naturalistic space
Art Education - Rise of guilds
Technique - Work at the site of a cathedral; sculptors begin to work alone and travel

Renaissance I - A.D. 1300

Aesthetic Ideology - Nominalism as defined by Church and State
Material - Architecture and fresco
Artistic Knowledge - Guild in service of Church and State; knowledge of use of symbolism; cost of materials, etc.
Art Form - Fresco painting; tombs for kings; fortress
Measure - Rules of coherence; linear sequence through time; agglomerate space; rules of measure, recapitulating Euclid, Archimedes
Art Education - Guild master and priest teach scripture; learn color symbolism; biblical scenes
Technique - Presenting of the sequential literal style; contract basis.

Renaissance II - Italian Fiscalism - A.D. 1400

Aesthetic Ideology - Beginnings of middle class strivings introducing the early naturalism
Material - Oil painting
Artistic Knowledge - Artist-engineer in service of Church, King and small rising bourgeoisie
Art Form - Painting, sculpture on smaller scale - portraiture
Measure - 3-d perspective; foreshortening; unified space; conglomerate space
Art Education - Artist makes break from guild; drawing skill; gauging
Technique - Solo-individual contracts; drawing and planned sketch

High Renaissance III - 1500-1525

Aesthetic Ideology - Church art of High Renaissance
Material - Architecture and painting and sculpture
Artistic Knowledge - Pope and cardinals "prod" aesthetic theory
Art Form - Monumental portraits of saints and Church officials
Measure - Classical measure
Art Education - Genius cannot be taught; need for wit, intelligence and independent judgment
Technique - Solo contracts for monumentalism; stone is carved

Late Renaissance IV: Mannerism - 1525-1620

Aesthetic Ideology - Princely tastes - elegance, elaboration; courtly manner
Material - Oil painting
Artistic Knowledge - Artist in service of Princely court
Art Form - Portraiture and architecture; heraldry; monumentalism
Measure - Multiple perspectives; atectonic; sizes vary; elongations; monumental
Art Education - Separate academies arise with separate theories
Technique - Individual contract system; sculpture is modelled, which means an increase in possibilities

Late Renaissance IV: Holland - 1580-1650

Aesthetic Ideology - Middle class naturalism
Material - Oil painting
Artistic Knowledge - Artist in service of middle class
Art Form - Landscape
Measure - 3-d space of everyday life
Art Education - No academy; chiaroscuro, the study of light
Technique - Selling technique; speed of work

Baroque I: Mercantilism - 1650-1750

Aesthetic Ideology - Church recovers Council of Trent rules
Material - Oil painting and architecture
Artistic Knowledge - Pope and cardinals dictate rules
Art Form - Total design for the glorification of Church
Measure - Recovery of High Renaissance principles
Art Education - Academies, Caracci at Bolognia, profane and sacred art separate
Technique - Speed of work becomes increasingly important

Baroque II: Absolutism: 1600-1650

Aesthetic Ideology - Courtly art of grand manner
Material - Painting and plaster casts
Artistic Knolwedge - Neo-classical themes; recovery of Greek myths; artist becomes historian and court propagandizer; moral allegories
Art Form - Monumentalism, ostentation through history painting to celebrate state; landscape; busts, statues
Measure - Beginning to use mass, force, weight; static colors; introduction of concept of infinity
Art Education - Academies introduce axiomatic principles; the frozen moment is selected; biblical scenes
Technique - Gilding, tapestry; furniture design; copying from Greek and Roman models

Baroque II: Rococo - ca. 1725-1750

Aesthetic Ideology - Urban nobility
Material - Architecture
Artistic Knowledge - Arabesque
Art Form - Petite Maison; hôtel
Measure - Movement added
Art Education - Art academy
Technique - Decoration

Baroque III: Rationalism - 1700-1790

Aesthetic Ideology - Rationalism of haute bourgeoisie in service of court; neoclassicism of Revolution
Material - Oil painting portraiture
Artistic Knowledge - Ability to rework classical history; exploration of landscapes
Art Form - Portraiture for all
Measure - Measured proportions; Cartesian geometry; circle, pyramid, cube; infinity
Art Education - Taught how to scrutinize works; planned intention; pre-test and sound judgment taught; order and proportion put into rules; *Poussinistes* battle with *Rubénistes*
Technique - Landscape (stress on land)

French Revolution to Second Empire - 1790-1852

Aesthetic Ideology - Stoic classicism
Material - Oil paints
Artistic Knowledge - Propaganda, moral example
Art Form - Portraiture
Measure - Engineering schools - stress on rationalism (Napoleonic period)
Art Education - Academy
Technique - Continued neoclassical tenets

Industrial Revolution I: Based on Steam - 1750-1830

Aesthetic Ideology - Empiricism; neoclassicism of squirearchy
Material - Oil paint, gilt, plaster, literature
Artistic Knowledge - History - historical novel, moral example
Art Form - Gallant scenes, novel, no definitive architecture
Measure - Man is the measure; stress is on primary qualities; neoclassicism maintained
Art Education - Academy; beginnings of the Design Schools
Technique - Rise of reading public

Industrial Revolution I: Pre-Romanticism - ca. 1780-1800

Aesthetic Ideology - In Britain, middle class in service of Tory rule; organicist aesthetics. In Germany parallel group is the Storm and Stress.
Material - Painting and poetical recital
Artistic Knowledge - Use of the imagination to get to the sublime and mysterious; knowledge of Middle Ages
Art Form - Primarily poetry; In painting the picturesque style was dominant.
Measure - Scale of Nature
Art Education - Affiliated with the Academy
Technique - Travel

Industrial Revolution I: Romanticism - ca. 1800-1830

Aesthetic Ideology - Victory of middle class; organicist aesthetics
Material - Written and spoken word
Artistic Knowledge - Observer of Nature; knowledge of Middle Ages; "fine artist"
Art Form - Poetry
Measure - Stress on secondary qualities; self is the measure; organic view - sum of the parts is greater than the whole
Art Education - Affiliated with the Academy, genius requires no education
Technique - Study of Nature

Industrial Revolution I: Germany - 1850-1875

Aesthetic Ideology - Idealism
Material - Music score
Artistic Knowledge - Understanding biological terminology
Art Form - Music, drama
Measure - Authentic self is the measure
Art Education - Genius does not have to be educated; "fine artist"
Technique - Study of Nature

Industrial Revolution II: Coal, Oil and Gas - 1830-1880

Aesthetic Ideology - Evolutionary aesthetic theories
Material - Steel, iron, galss, brick
Artistic Knowledge - Engineering skills, design; historical change; Industrial novel
Art Form - World Exhibitions (i.e., both architecture and crafts)
Measure - Growing Imperialism means monumentalism and cultural supremacy
Art Education - Design school and Academies co-exist; organization of workers for large works; engineering
Technique - Coordination of diverse resources in one place

Industrial Revolution II: French Realism - 1850

Aesthetic Ideology - Rural bourgeoisie
Material - Oil paints
Artistic Knowledge - Observer of Nature
Art Form - Painting
Measure - Particularism; scale of man
Art Education - Outside Academy - the bohème cénacles, coteries
Technique - Travel within Europe

Industrial Revolution II: Coal, Oil and Gas - 1860-1890

Impressionists

Aesthetic Ideology - Positivisism; serial painting presents an evolutionary approach
Material - Paint
Artistic Knowledge - Conscious of the affects of surrounding colors; after image noted
Art Form - one-man shows
Measure - Everyday city life encapsulated in transportable canvasses.
Art Education - Art academy and private ateliers
Technique - Quick sketches of scenes painted outside, in the sunlight; With the Neo-Impressionists sketches were rendered scientifically in the studio.

L'art pour L'art

Aesthetic Ideology - Symbolists
Material - Poetry
Artistic Knowledge - Knowledge of the power of words; attempt to get to involuntary memory
Art Form - Poem
Measure - Man - stress is on authentic self
Art Education - Outside the Academy, clique
Technique - Stream of consciousness techniques

Industrial Revolution III: Electricity - 1880 - 1950

Expressionists

Aesthetic Ideology - Phenomenological theories of mind
Material - Painting; film form
Artistic Knowledge - Abstraction and the search for essences; Private but communicable experiences through an art language
Art Form - Painting; drama in the case of the Weimar
Measure - Stressed authentic self
Art Education - Artist-critic relationship characterized by the promotion of a group
Technique - Rework art until meaning is achieved

Industrial Revolution III: Electricty - Continued - 1880-1950

Data-Surrealists

Aesthetic Ideology - Existential phenomenological theories of mind; Freudian influences
Material - Found objects of everyday life
Artistic Knowledge - An understanding of social visual imagery so that shock could be created through juxtaposing images; montage
Art Form - Beginnings of anti-art
Measure - Man's unconscious mind has an influence on his conscious mind.
Art Education - Outside artist-critic relationship; attempt is made to make the movement international and self-supportive
Technique - Exhibitions in outside galleries (i.e, stores and gas stations)

Cubists, Purists, Vortists, Formalists

Aesthetic Ideology - Closed system theories of mind characterized by an aesthetics of Sachlichkeit
Material - Introduce everyday material into their works; collage techniques
Artistic Knowledge - An understanding of how to abstract reality to find its universal structure; i.e., Delaunay translates reality into color, while Cubists divide it up into planes; Bauhaus used mathematical formulas; Van Doesburg used the circle, square, triangle; and Piet's universal principles included the three primary colors
Art Form - Objects of everyday life; industrial design
Measure - Stress in on objectifiable, measurable and manageable "bits"
Art Education - Design Schools
Technique - Synthesis of many positions

Industrial Revolution IV: Atomic Energy - 1950 -

Constructivists, Vitalists

Aesthetic Ideology - Structural-functional (open) theories of mind
Material - Plastics; film form
Artistic Knowledge - Structure of visual environment; space-time considerations
Art Form - Architecture
Measure - Industrial monuments
Art Education - Engineering and Design Schools
Technique - Study of physical property of materials

Post Industrial Revolution V: Nuclear Energy - 1950 -

Aesthetic Ideology - Inter and intra systems of an ecological view
Material - Hard and software; T.V. form
Artistic Knowledge - Semiotic theory. advertising
Art Form - Art is dematerialized; service art; Earth art; system art
Measure - Monumentalism of paintings; skyscrapers and system of structures; multi-national systems
Art Education - Industrial/Fine Art antinomy
Technique - Field study